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ABSTRACT

This publication reports on a conference convened in November 1987 (with a follow-up for unfinished business in July, 1988) to analyze and propose solutions to the problem of ethnic minority underrepresentation in doctoral programs, with specific emphasis on the role of faculty in reversing this trend. Prefatory material includes a conference summary, synopses of papers, and an overview of the agenda. The text of the keynote address by Arturo Madrid is presented. The main body of the report is divided into four sections corresponding to key issues related to the faculty role in minority graduate scholarship. Each section includes a topic introduction, a commissioned paper or papers, responses, and work group reports. The paper for Issue I, "Access and Outreach," is "The Role of Graduate Faculty in Bringing Democracy to Graduate Education" (Leonard A. Valderde). The paper for Issue II, "Mentoring," is "Faculty Roles in Mentoring Minority Students" (James E. Blackwell). Papers for Issue III, "Canons and Boundaries of Scholarship," are "Communicentric Frames of Reference in the Pursuit of Scholarship: Implications for the Production of Knowledge and the Development of Minority Scholars" (Edmund W. Gordon and David Rollock) and "Integration or Transformation: Minority Scholarship in the Humanities and Arts" (Margaret B. Wilkerson). The paper for Issue IV, "Incentives and Rewards," is "The Role of Faculty in Developing Minority Scholars: Incentives and Rewards" (J. Herman Blake). Addenda include a participant's observations, highlights from the plenaries, recommended policies and actions, and a reaction form. (AF)

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THE ROLE OF THE FACULTY IN MEETING THE NATIONAL NEED FOR AFRICAN AMERICAN, AMERICAN INDIAN AND LATINO SCHOLARS

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THE ROLE OF THE FACULTY IN MEETING THE NATIONAL NEED FOR AFRICAN AMERICAN, AMERICAN INDIAN AND LATINO SCHOLARS

Report Of The Stony Brook Conference I

Myrna C. Adams and Elizabeth Wadsworth, Editors

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INTRODUCTION

Robert L. Lichter
Executive Director
Dreyfus Foundation

The volume you are about to read represents the efforts of dozens of faculty and administrators from universities across the United States convened by the State University of New York at Stony Brook in order to create opportunities to address a major issue.

The issue is survival.

In 1980, the U.S. population was 75.5 percent white, 11.7 percent black, 7.2 percent Hispanic, 1.9 percent Asian-American, and 0.7 percent American Indian. By 1984, the ratios had changed to 72 percent white, 16.3 percent black, 8.5 percent Hispanic, 2.3 percent Asian-American, and about one percent American Indian. Skipping intermediate data, by the year 2000—less than a mere 11 years away—the population will be 55.9 percent white, 28.8 percent black, 12.6 percent Hispanic, 1.6 percent Asian and 1.1 percent American Indian. And the percentage of white males in the population will be substantially less than fifty percent.

What this means, of course, is that within our lifetimes the leaders and shapers of our society increasingly will come from the ranks of people of color. Universities are the training ground for leaders. Universities are the intellectual link between the past and the future. They have progressed from being isolated and cloistered enclaves to being key players in the "global village" that characterizes today's world.

The world is characterized by cultural plurality. Its population in general, and that of the United States in particular, is changing rapidly. In the more narrow framework of the University, all indicators show that by the year 2000, the Academy itself will begin to face a shortage in its own membership, as large numbers of college and university faculty retire. They will be replaced by today's nine-year-olds, who are the graduate students of the year 2000. They will have to come from the ranks of people of color, who will comprise the next generation of intellectual, economic, ethical, spiritual and cultural leaders. By reflecting that global reality, Universities can make intellectual contributions that will have the greatest impact on the larger society.

We are not doing a very good job.

In 1985, Blacks, who represent 12 percent of the population, received 6.5 percent of bachelors, 5.8 percent of masters, and 3.4 percent of all Ph.D. degrees. In 1986 the fraction of doctorates dropped by almost 15 percent to 2.9 percent. Blacks, Hispanics and American Indians combined received only 3 percent of all science and engineering doctorates in 1985, and 2.1 percent in 1986, a decrease of 30 percent. In absolute numbers, for 1986, doctorates in physical sciences, mathematics, computer science, and engineering were awarded to 57 Blacks, 99 Hispanics, 14 American Indians, 487 Asian-Americans—and 6,935 whites or non-citizens.

Even more discouragingly, between 1985 and 1986, the total number of Ph.D.'s earned by Blacks dropped by 9 percent, from 1,040 to 946, while in the same period the total number of doctorates awarded increased by 2.1 percent. From 1976 to 1982, according to a study published recently in the *Harvard Educational Review*, the percentage of all graduate students who were black dropped by almost 18 percent, from 5.1 to 4.2 percent. Gains that had been evident in the sixties and part of the seventies are displaying a marked and discouraging reversal, with ominous consequences for our ability as a society to survive and grow.

The issues are not new, and no single institution is alone in recognizing the need to confront them. Unfortunately, the will to take action at the university level is often confounded by the valid argument that the root of change lies at the earliest educational stages, hence there is little that can be done at the undergraduate or graduate level. While the premise is valued, the inference is not, and we run the risk of rationalizing inaction. We are in danger of sitting and deploring the circumstances, convincing ourselves that we care and "wish" we could do something about "it," but in fact not going beyond that.

There are many reasons given for the decline in the rate at which people of color are receiving advanced degrees. Certainly the political and ideological tone that has emanated from Washington during the last decade has been a significant factor. A new Administration brings new hopes, new opportunities, new beginnings.

None of these qualities, however, brings about significant change without action. We have choices; we can indeed act. The trend described here is a spiral. The rate of spiraling can be controlled, attenuated and even reversed by grabbing the helix at a number of available handles, none of which are

exclusionary and indeed all of which are reinforcing.

The national conferences that took place in November, 1987 and July, 1988, dealt with the handle on the helix called graduate education. The objective of these events was to identify ways to assist faculty, who are critical to our efforts to bring about change. Without faculty commitment, without faculty participation, meaningful results cannot be achieved. The fact is that the issue—survival—presents us with some very real opportunities to have a palpable effect on broad-based changes, changes that can go far beyond the specifics with which the Conference has grappled. These are deep-seated issues that require discussion, analysis and—above all—action at all university levels, and whose resolution can have far-reaching effects.

The Conference's undertakings provide an opportunity to realize an African proverb that "you can't build a house for last year's summer." The University is the arena in which the conditions can be explored, debated, refined and, most critically, acted upon to create an environment which facilitates entry of people of color into positions of responsibility and authority. The University must make itself sensitive to that. It can refine the recruitment and admissions processes to identify larger numbers of people who form the pool eligible for admission to graduate study. It can expand the concept of mentor-student relationships in order to increase the success rates of graduate students. It can especially explore and enlarge the canons and boundaries of scholarship in order to include the interests, concerns and characteristics of people of color. The last step has recently become a topic of vigorous and heated debate. That debate, however, is indeed consistent with the role of the University. It is an area where the participation of people of color is vital. Not only do they benefit, but so does the entire academic enterprise, as it vigorously adopts and reflects the pluralistic cultural diversity of the larger sphere in which it functions.

At the time of the Conference, Dr. Lichter was Vice Provost for Research and Graduate Studies, State University of New York at Stony Brook.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A project like this one cannot be undertaken without money, time, talent and energy.

We gratefully acknowledge the institutions, listed inside the title page, that funded the conference. Here we want to add thanks to people at those institutions whose confidence in us made the conference and our publications possible: Santos Abrilz, Brian Andreen, John Buckhoff, Bernard Charles, Elmima Johnson, Erol Ricketts and Wayman Smith, III. We are also grateful to Frank Pogue of State University of New York and to the New York African American Institute for enabling us to get this report printed.

We tapped talents and drew energy from many people, starting at Stony Brook: Homer A. Neal, former Provost, with 20/20 foresight, conceived of a national conference and a policy document, and he remained committed to the Conference after he had departed for Ann Arbor; Bob Lichter, former Vice Provost, was a morale booster who understood the magnitude and complexity of the task and so strengthened our resolve to continue; other members of the Stony Brook Planning Comittee—David Glass, Susan Squier, Bruce Hare, Charles Martin-Stanley, Denise Coleman, and especially the late Joseph Katz, provided good advice and counsel. The Graduate School staff bore the additional workload graciously; Maxine Ricciardella gave invaluable support at all stages and, together with Eugenia Reiersen and Sheila Levine, made it possible to turn conference deliberations into conference documents on the spot. Student assistants Jerry Brandenstein, Al DiVenuto and Agnes Adu were more than "go-fers" at the conference; they smoothed out wrinkles whenever they appeared. Graduate Student Assistants Kendaly Meadows, Ramon Bosque-Perez and Leslie Jubilee enthusiastically contributed more time than they should have, because they knew the conference issues were about their futures. And from the sidelines President John Marburger and Provost Jerry Schubel demonstrated their confidence and provided the most effective support that senior administrators can—they committed institutional dollars during a period of austerity, and they gave us the latitude to "do it our way."

The group of people who became the National Advisory Council are a talented, energizing force on whom we relied completely. I had worked with Bob Fullilove, Steve Adolphus and Harold Delaney in the early 70's and knew their strengths. But I came to know everyone else in the process of organizing the conference. Now we are like kinfolk, and the clan keeps growing. We are especially indebted to John Turner, Trevor Chandler, Carol Slaughter and Rafael Magallán who gave us concept, commitment and credibility, and to Joyce Justus, Alfonso Ortiz, Bill Trent and Reginald Wilson who propelled us forward.

Of all the people involved, Elizabeth Wadsworth was the most closely associated with every aspect of this project since the second planning meeting held in Port Jefferson, N.Y. I could not have wished for a more perfect teammate.

M.C.A.

Foreword to Summary Report

This conference was conceived in the context of a growing crisis succinctly described by Dr. James E. Blackwell, Professor of Sociology, University of Massachusetts at Boston:

> At the same time that researchers are predicting the need for huge numbers of faculty to replace those persons retiring between 1990 and the year 2000, others are calling attention to what is essentially a crisis in the supply of minorities for faculty positions in America's colleges and universities. That crisis has been precipitated by the failure of many minority group students to move beyond critical transition points to succeeding levels in the educational pipeline. One important consequence of that situation is the diminishing supply of minorities actually trained for faculty positions.

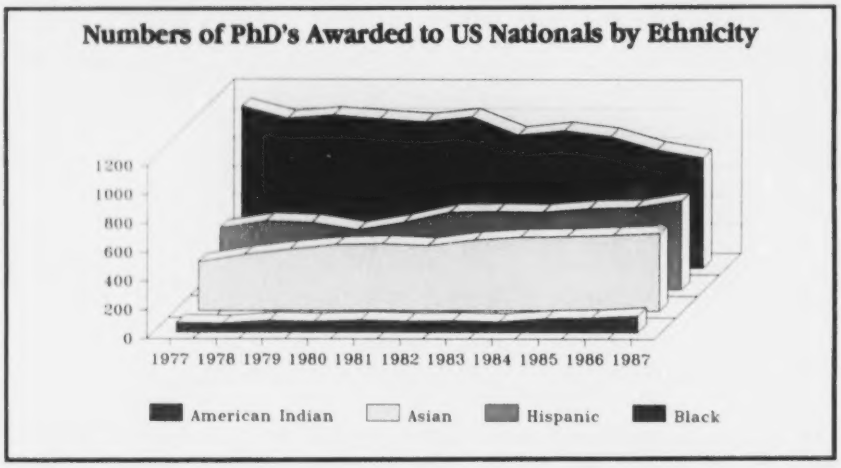
Dr. Homer A. Neal, formerly Provost of SUNY at Stony Brook, comprehended this situation. He saw the importance of bringing concerned academics together to analyze and propose solutions to the specific problem of ethnic minority underrepresentation in doctoral programs—the last transition point in the educational pipeline.

The following charts made from the *NRC Summary Report, 1986, Doctorate Recipients from United States Universities*, illustrate the trends in completion rates over the past decade by both ethnicity and gender. The recommendations contained in the section of our report titled "The Agenda" are strategies/actions designed to redirect the course of events. They all SOUND good, but not one of these ideas means anything until it's been adopted by a faculty member, a department, a division, or an institution. Every single one of these recommendations needs to be thought through in very specific terms and made to conform to the needs and capabilities of the people who are going to take action.

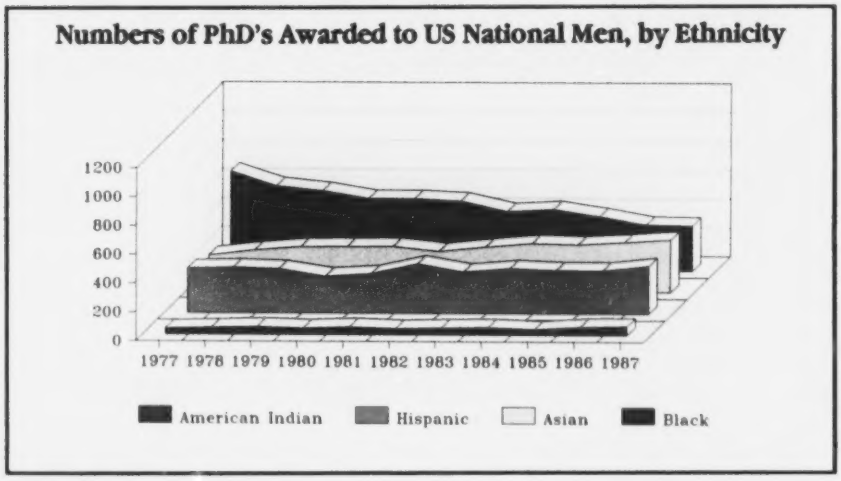
In an ideal world, every institution of higher education would address every recommendation listed. But in the real world—our world—that won't happen. So let us begin realistically by choosing two or three items to which we can make a commitment for this year; next year, we can add more and continue to progress toward the achievement of the goal of maximum development and utilization of the most precious resource we have as a society— the human intellect.

Myrna C. Adams
Assistant Vice Provost for Graduate Studies
State University of New York at Stony Brook

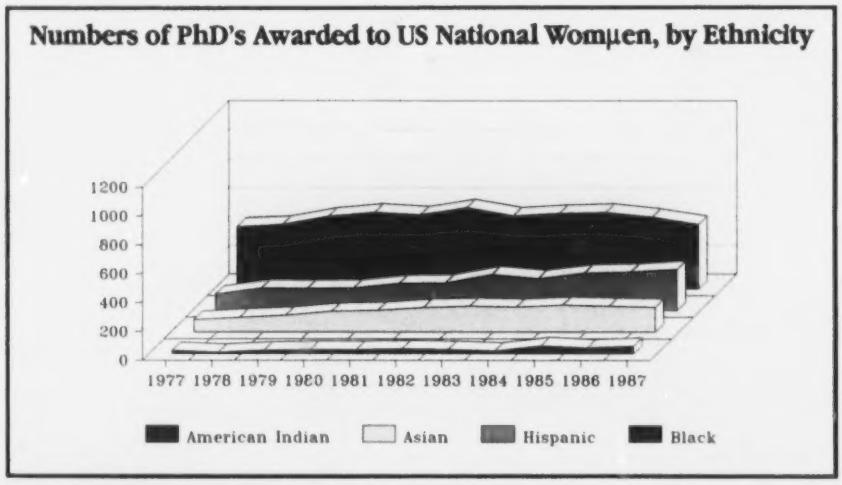
The Total Number of PhD's Awarded in 1986 was 31,770



The Total Number of PhD's Awarded to Men in 1986 was 20,526



The Total Number of PhD's Awarded to Women in 1986 was 11.244



Source: NRC SummaryReport, 1986

Summary

Introduction

In academic matters, when you discuss graduate education, faculty are key. So when Stony Brook convened a multi-ethnic, national advisory committee to design a conference on the declining numbers of people of color enrolling in doctoral programs and completing the Ph.D., the advisors chose "faculty role" as the place to focus, not for the purpose of casting blame, but rather to help find solutions to the problem of underrepresentation.

The Problem. The severity of the problem is shown by the fact that in 1986 African Americans earned 26.5 percent fewer doctorates than in 1976. Doctorates earned by Hispanics increased very slightly from 2.4 per cent to 3.6 percent despite a surge in the Hispanic population in the U.S. The smallest group continues to be the American Indians, who increased from 0.2 percent in 1977 to 0.3 percent in 1986. *(National Research Council Summary Report 1986, "Doctorate Recipients from United States Universities.")*

A complicated conjunction of factors account for this situation: the quality of pre-collegiate education is inferior; parents and counselors often don't encourage young people to make the necessary commitment to achieve the highest degree offered in American universities; peer groups may exert a counter-achievement pressure on one another; money is often a problem; the road to the Ph.D. is rocky and difficult—the programs are rigorous, the environment competitive and often inhospitable to people of color.

Yet for those who do persist, the [illegible] rewards are very high in terms of self-esteem, status, [illegible] and power. The social benefits deriving from a highly-e[illegible]ed population, providing the necessary leadership and scholarship we depend upon to maintain our economic and political position in the world, accrue to each of us.

Faculty Control. Expansion of opportunity at the graduate level is directly controlled by faculty, for it is they who admit graduate students, who award assistantships and fellowships, who mentor and advise, and ultimately help to create employment opportunities. Therefore, faculty commitment must exist before any institutional efforts can successfully increase the number of ethnic minority students who earn Ph.D. degrees.

Conference Issues. Our plan was to invite no more than 100 individuals—mainly faculty, selected primarily from the target ethnic groups, from Ph.D. granting institutions and from important national organizations—to a three-day working meeting. Four issues related to the role of the faculty framed our discussions, each one elaborated in a commissioned paper:

1) In what ways can faculty develop more sophisticated procedures to ferret out talent and potential in the graduate admissions process, and how can they contribute to the development of talent at earlier stages of schooling to enlarge the pool of minority students eligible for graduate admission?
2) What is the mentor's role, and how can faculty play that role effectively to increase the success rate of African American, American Indian and Latino scholars in the making?
3) How can faculty work within their disciplinary fields to enlarge the canons and boundaries of scholarship so as to include the interests, concerns and characteristics of ethnic minority people?
4) In what ways can the current faculty incentive and reward systems be used or modified to make changes necessary for more African Americans, American Indians and Latinos to complete advanced degrees?

Participants. Eighty people attended the three-day conference; 45 were full-time teaching faculty, 15 from SUNY university centers and central administration. The rest came from twenty states and Puerto Rico with a preponderance from California, Washington, D.C. and Illinois. The majority of faculty (28) were social scientists, seven represented the humanities, and five each for the biological and physical sciences. Thirty-five participants were administrative, five of whom represented national higher education organizations.

SYNOPSIS OF PAPERS

Issue I. Admissions And Outreach

Leonard A. Valverde, Vice President for Academic Affairs, University of Texas at San Antonio, characterized the recruitment and admission of minority students into graduate education, and their achievement of degrees, as democratizing education. What is today an issue of fairness, he said, will soon become one of economics: Minority populations are growing at a higher rate than the majority population and, increasingly, the U.S. economy depends on educated workers, including those with graduate degrees.

To be more effective for minority (and all) students, higher education must adopt the concept of "value added," not just admitting and graduating successful students, but adding to the individual's development and talent through education. Special admissions for minority students are a mistake, Valverde said. Rather, the university environment should be reconstructed on the assumption that target minority students are intellectually healthy, just undernourished or underprepared.

Faculty can represent the best in society; can link students with the institution; catalyze learning for students; convey information about the campus culture and environment; act as mentors, sponsors, friends to students. Rather than endorsing the neo-Darwinian "survival of the fittest," faculty must take part in creation of the fittest, through the

education they can control.

Edgar Epps, Professor of Sociology, University of Chicago, responding to Professor Valverde's presentation, spoke of the academic environment. U.S. graduate institutions form an academic hierarchy, based on institutional prestige, which is self- maintaining and which, left to itself, will resist efforts to make changes upsetting the status quo. Since departments are the most directly responsible for graduate admissions, rewards should go to departments for innovative, successful admissions processes. All faculty, not just minority faculty, must be committed to recruiting and nurturing minority talent. The institution must have unified efforts and must also have adequate financial aid.

Appeal to the altruism of graduate faculty in efforts to increase minority scholars, but reward those who take successful actions.

Howard F. Taylor, Professor of Sociology, Princeton University, reinforced Valverde's point that special minority admissions programs will not continue to work. They must be augmented to make minority admissions and retention integral to the graduate education process, not a stepchild to it. Minorities must be recruited earlier, and criteria for evaluating minority candidates must be reexamined and redefined.

Standardization through reliance on tests—often poor predictors of academic performance—minimizes diversity and encourages enthnocentrism while discouraging ethnic pluralism.

In praising the appendix to Valverde's paper, which includes many specific ways to increase participation and success of minority students in graduate education, Taylor urged those undertaking such measures to attach detailed methods for evaluation.

Elaine J. Copeland, Associate Dean and Assistant Professor of Educational Psychology, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, underscores Valverde's remarks about informal faculty networks that favor majority students and adds that, because of these established channels of communication, faculty members frequently have little or no experience in active recruiting.

Issue II. Mentoring

James E. Blackwell, Professor of Sociology, University of Massachusetts at Boston, placed his review of mentors and mentoring for minority graduate students in a context of low, and in some cases declining, numbers of minority faculty members, and their concentration in few fields. Further, it is inappropriate to expect that because a faculty member is from a racial/ethnic minority, s/he will wish to be or able to be a successful mentor.

Mentoring is a "process by which a person of superior rank, special achievements and prestige, instructs, counsels, guides and facilitates the intellectual and/or career development of a person identified as a protege." Mentors and proteges both have responsibilities. Mentors establish trust, build the protege's confidence in his/her abilities, along with a mind-set for work, time management and consistent effort at learning. Mentors must be available, especially throughout dissertation labors. Proteges have to demonstrate positive attitude, diligence, flexibility, critical thinking, appreciation.

Mentors are most important for those students, including many minority students, who do not know, and would not seek, such unwritten rules as the politics, hidden curriculum and power struggles that influence departmental operations.

Mentoring is especially demanding for minority faculty members. Their usually limited numbers mean they must perform multiple functions as "minority representative" besides all the usual tenure requirements. Unfortunately, in most institutions, mentoring does not receive appropriate departmental, college or university rewards.

Wesley L. Harris, Dean, School of Engineering, University of Connecticut, drew from his Massachusetts Institute of Technology experience a different mentor role, one that emphasizes the rigorous development of research talent.

Two prescriptions for this role: The Ph.D. student must become professionally superior to his/her advisor-confirming the initial judgment in choosing the student and ensuring the continued development of the department/institution. Second, the mentor/advisor must create an "insulated" environment for the student, in which the student can do ground-breaking research without concerns about funding, space, equipment or social variables like gender or race.

Joan C. Payne-Johnson, Professor of Communication Sciences and Disorders, Howard University, reported on a minority graduate student survey on mentoring in which students responded with traditional characteristics when asked about good mentors (knowledgeable, available, committed to students, compatible professional interests and goals, etc.) but reflected more personal needs when asked for the characteristics needed in relation to gender, ethnicity, or nationality (loyal, supportive, compassionate).

Given the documented special needs of minority graduate students, especially on majority white campuses, mentoring for them "will simply have to be given credit where it counts." Minority faculty members cannot mentor several minority graduate students and also do intensive, solitary work to publish several articles a year.

Clifton A. Poodry, Chair, Biology Department, University of California at Santa Cruz, adds to Blackwell's mentor functions these: The good mentor should take the initiative for a good relationship from the start, because the mentor is in the superior, stable position. In building confidence, the mentor must use judgment and sensitivity about helping proteges evaluate themselves soundly. And the mentor must keep the responsibility, the power, in the mentee's hands, not making choices but eliciting justifications that either convince or lead to rethinking.

The mentor should be an exceptional role model for the profession. The mentor need not be the same race or gender, mentoring quality is much more important. The best faculty should be mentors. Minority faculty need not carry the

whole burden of mentoring for minority graduate students, but by their dedication to scholarship, they can be positive role models for their colleagues and for the next generation of minority scholars.

Issue III. Enlarging the Canons and Boundaries of Scholarship

Communicentric frames of reference, say Gordon and Rollock, (**Edmund W. Gordon** and **David Rollock**, Professor and Ph.D. candidate, respectively, Department of Psychology, Yale University), set boundaries to knowledge development in the social sciences and, by extension, probably in other scholarly fields. "Knowledge, technology and scholarship are cultural products and not culture-free phenomena."

Majority-culture paradigms for knowledge can limit that knowledge and constrain the work of minority scholars, much of whose time has to be spent in either refuting biased work or, worse, having to position their own work in frameworks that distort or invalidate the scholar's own knowledge.

An underpinning to more freely comprehensive scholarship must be exploration of relationships between the observer and the observed, including cultural/ethnic influences on both sides. There must be more primary studies of minority populations, and of different subgroups within them, for baseline information.

To increase the possibility that social sciences will represent the diversity and reality of the United States, scholars must become aware of their own values. Since "one cannot be objective, let us at least strive to be honest."

Margaret B. Wilkerson, Professor of Afro-American Studies, University of California at Berkeley, poses transformation, not integration, as the proper goal for minority scholarship. There is a tension between the intellectual/scholar and the academy which is exacerbated by color. Brainpower is a precious resource, so the academy's ties to corporate and government interests are strong. The university's bureaucratic processes of retention and compensation promote careerism rather than intellectual vitality. The academy has lost its public voice.

"Minority scholarship" is at risk because of its revisionist and transforming questions and its public voice, bringing in outrage, questions and experiences of a world excluded.

History of popular entertainment has taken off, using impetus from both Civil Rights and Women's Movements, and has brought change into theatre history, a field formerly devoted to studying an elite art. Disciplines like literature, music and theatre are now redefining what they study and what they value in scholarship.

Minority scholars should not fit too comfortably within the academy as it is presently constituted but should raise questions and produce scholarship that transforms fields and institutions. Transformation, not integration, must be our goal.

Frank Bonilla, Professor of Sociology and Director, Centro de Estudios Puertorriquenos, Hunter College, CUNY, described the work of the Center as an example of action on knowledge-building concerns expressed by Gordon/Rollock and Wilkerson. In the past fifteen years, the Center has had three broad research tasks: setting the record straight (countering stereotypes), filling in the historical record (of incorporation of Puerto Rican peoples into life in the U.S.), and documenting particularities of Puerto Ricans' entry, participation and partial integration into U.S. society. Such studies, far from being small-scale reproductions of general U.S. studies, promise to offer essential insights into U.S. relations within and beyond its borders.

In a lively challenge to orthodox academic behavior, **A. Charlene McDermott**, Provost, City College, CUNY, said that "to ask whether or to what extent good teaching and research are comparative (in the sense of their taking seriously the substance and methodology of cultures and traditions other than one's own) is like asking whether or to what extent Napoleon had expansionist aims. . . . For it is only by drawing on a wide variety of view and belief systems . . . that a genuinely critical appraisal of the beliefs, concepts, logical, grammatical and categorical structures presupposed by and constitutive of one's own theories and practices, is possible."

Raymond T. Garza, Professor of Psychology, University of California at Riverside, described the work of minority scholars in the 60's and early 70's as motivated by a desire to "rectify fallacious depictions of our ethnic groups in the humanities and social sciences." Now, the motivations have changed. In order to increase the number of minority scholars, particularly in research-oriented universities, it will be necessary to start developing future minority scholars at the elementary and preschool levels.

Charlotte Heth, Director, American Indian Program, Cornell University, raised several concerns of American Indian and other minority scholars, particularly in ethnic studies or arts programs: advantages/disadvantages of minority scholarship within ethnic boundaries; institutional support and how to measure it; future research; the case for in-house journals; finding the right research methods; evaluation in performance arts; and getting a mainstream place for minority scholars.

Issue IV. Incentives and Rewards for Faculty

J. Herman Blake, E.M. Lang Visiting Professor of Social Change, Swarthmore College, described a "window of opportunity" for increasing the numbers of African Americans, American Indians and Latinos completing graduate studies in the next two decades: retirement of tenured faculty will be exceptionally high, and the pool from which new students will be drawn is becoming more diverse. But, given the present trends in graduate enrollment, the opportunity will be lost without some major intervention on behalf of the underrepresented minority groups.

The competitive value system at major research universities works against appointment of minority scholars to their

faculties: unwritten criteria require that degrees be from "top" universities, that publication be in "top" journals, and that all hiring decisions be made in support of keeping "top" status for the university.

A successful alternative institution is Oakes College at the University of California-Santa Cruz. There, institutional commitment to opening the doors of opportunity led to actions that supported faculty in pursuit of scholarly goals while also providing incentives and rewards for mentoring and motivating minority students. Using such means as release time from professional travel, teaching assistants and tutorials, grant writing support, a Pedagogy Task Force, Oakes College was able to see junior faculty through dissertations, establishment in professional careers and an excellent record of scholarly publication. Important to its success was the fact that the program was designed around faculty needs and their goals and values. This helped them accomplish their own purposes and at the same time act toward a clear college goal.

Blake's closing recommendations were: that people of color be in positions of power over budgets, appointment, promotion and tenure in research institutions and that there be legislative pressure on major public research universities to get them to address issues of equity and access for graduate students and faculty.

Robert Garflas, Dean of Fine Arts, University of California at Irvine, advocates an attitude of "rational cynicism." Rewards and incentives for increased minority presence seem to be most easily accepted when they are not seen as competitive to the existing structure. Therefore, he says, allocations perceived to be from "higher up" are easier to accept than those required to be made at departmental level, even when it's clear that the same pot of resources is involved. Likewise, although it would be best to have minority faculty hired through regular departmental procedures, if these are not working, then alternative special opportunities should be seized. ("It is better to get into the institution from the side door than not at all.")

Homer A. Neal, Chair, Department of Physics, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, lists possible incentives for faculty to act in the interest of minority students:

Develop a salary assignment process for administrators based, in part, on their effectiveness in implementing university affirmative action policies. This will symbolize institutional commitment. Put the action in the chain of command (provost to deans to chairs to departmental committees) and show that affirmative action is integral to each administrator's job.

Every department should develop an annual academic plan, part of the annual budget process, where performance on affirmative action would be taken into account before final allocation decisions are made.

Faculty who are willing to use some of their time at scholarly conferences to consult substantially with colleagues about recruitment of minority graduate students, or faculty, should receive supplemental university travel support.

Faculty who exert special efforts to recruit and mentor minority graduate students above the average expected level should be acknowledged by the university. Research support (recognizing the time factor in getting outside research monies), reduction in teaching load or committee assignments are all possibilities. Something should be done that recognizes the amount of effort required to recruit and retain minority graduate students.

Incentives are not a long term solution. They are justifiable now because of the dangerous decline in minority graduate students at precisely the time their numbers should be rapidly growing, both for the benefit of those historically denied access and for the nation which will increasingly need their talents.

Given the scarcity of research funds and the pressure to succeed, special funds for minority faculty research is an effective support for junior faculty. Entering graduate students and junior professors need, also, some kind of live-in indoctrination program comparable to EOP summer entrance programs for freshmen. We need to do much more in the way of graduate student and junior faculty mentoring.

Donald L. Fixico, Professor of History, University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee, suggested increasing fellowships to minority graduate students to include funding for the faculty member's research project on which the student would help work in a mentor-student relationship. Research monies are a major incentive for faculty.

THE AGENDA

A primary conference objective was to identify specific things faculty members can do to make a difference, along with policies and actions inside and outside institutions that will support faculty doing those things.

Following the plenary discussions of the four issues, working groups were convened to focus on the topic each person considered to be his/her most pressing single issue. The following recommendations emerged from this process.

Issue I. Admission and Outreach

Recommendations:

1. Explain demographic realities
2. Gather and use statistical data on students from target groups by department, by institution
3. Identify impediments (e.g.) GRE scores, for under-represented groups and subject them to scholarly analysis not uninformed bias
4. Produce more well prepared undergraduate students—
   - Involve undergraduates in graduate research projects
   - Develop "bridge programs" between senior high school and the freshman year; between undergraduate seniors and graduate programs
   - Emphasize and reward high-quality teaching and learning all levels

5) Motivate potential students by drawing on faculty interest and time—
   - Increase the amount of formal and informal interaction with undergraduate students
   - Articulate for students the value and pleasures of the teacher/scholar's life
   - Provide opportunities for undergraduate students to experience collegial, graduate-like learning
   - Develop Early Identification Programs—the earlier the intervention, the more effective it will be
   - Invite high school students, parents and teachers of younger children to learn at the University in all kinds of short-term, Summer and evening programs
   - Create centers to identify and develop talent, training professionals to run them, and giving continuing education opportunities for parents and lay people.

6. Lodge in the faculty responsibility for recruiting graduate students to the institution—
   - Define the faculty role to include participation in recruitment
   - Institutional minority recruitment programs do not supplant departmental efforts
   - Departmental funds should be directed toward target populations
   - Expand the reach of recruitment efforts to include working people and those enrolled in less prestigious institutions
7. Persuade departments to change their focus in recruiting and admitting graduate students—
   - Review admissions criteria for their relevance to PERFORMANCE in graduate school
   - Place more emphasis on the WHOLE student focusing on his/her progress over time
   - Distinguish individual differences in preparation with sensitive diagnosis and course placement, but with full admission and financial support.
   - Provisionally admit students with demonstrated capacity but needing coursework to fill in gaps in background
8. Develop networks that support "minority" recruitment efforts
   - Establish visiting scholar programs, faculty-student exchanges
   - Form partnerships with other institutions
   - Improve articulation arrangements between master's and doctoral programs at different institutions
   - Make better use of "minority" alumni
9. Identify talent in non-traditional places—
   - Consider students in terminal master's programs
   - Reach out to working professionals
   - Provide opportunity for "returning scholars" and ABD's

Issue II. Mentoring

NOTE: We believe that the strategies proposed would improve the success rate of ALL students, not just "minority" students; that the availability of a mentor will enhance the benefits of graduate education.

A. Analysis

The mentoring role and degree of faculty involvement in it will be influenced by institutional norms, values and mission. These determinants are influenced by processes of faculty socialization and the prior experiences of faculty themselves as graduate student scholars in the making.

Variation in the mentoring process seems to be differentiated by fields of study. In order to understand the role of mentoring and its structures, such field/discipline distinctions need to be incorporated into the analysis.

Absent any formal institutional structures and policies, mentoring will be an entirely individual and idiosyncratic phenomenon, the issue of EFFECTIVE mentoring and a consensus as to its importance will not be addressed by the faculty.

The paucity of "minority" faculty creates a dilemma: cultural and value differences between students of color and faculty of European heritage can create misunderstandings, misperceptions, knowledge voids and communication barriers; yet, the responsibility cannot be left on the shoulders of the decreasing numbers of "minority" faculty.

B. Recommendations:

1. In predominantly white institutions, cultural knowledge and sensitivity to ethnic and racial minorities need to be imparted to faculty on a systemmatic basis.
2. Well-planned initiatives with positive reinforcement mechanisms must be instituted at the highest levels.
3. Institutional recognition and valuing of mentoring needs to be prominently manifested by the words and deeds of administrators through the allocation of resources and the establishment of meaningful reward systems.
4. Faculty workshops on mentoring should be periodically conducted by successful mentors.
5. The role of faculty should be defined primarily as identifier and developer of talent—even in research universities.
6. Faculty should apply their academic skills to the development of fair, accurate and valid measures of effective advising and mentoring and promote the concept of mentoring through professional organizations.
7. A monitoring system needs to be established in which accountability for mentoring is defined and operationalized. Institutional data-keeping and analysis are critical.
8. A CAVEAT: Special programs developed for "minority" students to increase their participation may have the unintended effect of isolating these students from their peers, thus precluding full integration and potentially jeopardizing successful completion and future career opportunities.
9. Graduate students should play an active role in improving the mentoring process:
   - publications providing a comprehensive and accurate portrayal of graduate education should be produced
   - a document detailing the rights, responsibilities and privileges that redound to every graduate student should be produced
   - students should play an important role in planning and participating in the orientation of new graduate students
   - "minority" students should increase their participation in graduate student associations and/or establish an organization to serve as a social-advocacy- support group
   - the Graduate Dean should create a student advisory committee to offer critiques and suggestions especially on the recruitment and retention of "minority" graduate students.
10. Senior faculty and emeritus faculty, as opposed to junior faculty, should assume the role of mentor for students of color.

Issue III. Enlarging the Canons and Boundaries of Scholarship

A. Analysis

Institutions of higher learning are as likely to be affected by external pressure as they are by internal efforts that are generated by the small minority professoriate. In the 1960's and 1970's, we witnessed changes in response to the activities of people of color demanding some accountability and social responsibility from institutions of higher education.

We considered the establishment of a scholarly "movement" that would focus both internally (within the academy) and externally (to our communities and appropriate organizations) on how to influence and support the development of a scholarship which could be named "Pluralism in Scholarship", "Transformational Scholarship" or "Scholarship of Diversity."

B. Recommendations

1. Form a multi-racial scholarly movement to support research and scholarship that is focused on issues and concerns that relate to Black, Latino and Indian communities.
2. Increase activity in professional associations and actively pursue positions on editorial review boards to influence the scholarly review process and the agendas of the associations and the publications.
3. Gather and share lists of organizations that encourage and support non-mainstream academics.
4. Broaden participation in our next conference to include: graduate students and non-academics, editors of mainstream academic journals.
5. Establish a list of academics of color who do research that is not mainstream or traditional for distribution to predominantly white campuses for lectures, departmental reviews, etc.

6) Summarize our concerns about broadening the canons and boundaries of the disciplines and share them with other organizations and individuals.

Issue IV. Incentives and Rewards for Faculty

A. Analysis

We need to change the discourse which has hitherto been in the language of "affirmative action", and reframe the issues in terms of "protecting our scarce resources."

Our rationale is provided by the changing demographic picture of increasing numbers of people of color, increasing numbers of retirees within the next twenty years, and the LOSS OF HUMAN TALENT that the nation can ill afford.

B. Recommendations:

1. We can recognize and reward faculty who effectively work to develop "minority" students by establishing—
   - fellowships and grants as rewards for outstanding work with our students
   - leave time for faculty to develop curricula, work on minority recruitment, and mentor minority student
   - travel monies
   - salary increments tied to success in nurturing minority students

- special merit funds designated for outstanding work with minority students
- research funds
- research equipment
- individual awards in the form of peer recognition, e.g., "Mentor of The Year Award"

2. We can develop opportunities to nurture and develop African American, American Indian and Latino faculty by providing—
   - professional development leave time
   - hiring set-asides targeted specifically for target groups
   - faculty exchange opportunities
   - visiting professorships
   - conference funding
3. Enabling mechanisms start with an ACADEMIC PLAN that builds these issues into the overall mission of the institution and provides for clear goals and timetables, resources to meet the goals, mechanisms for monitoring and review.
4. Other enabling mechanisms include—
   - faculty orientation workshops and seminars
   - Dean and Department Chair workshops
   - collaboration across divisions/disciplines
   - institutional collaboration and consultation in recruiting and hiring
   - internal monitoring points: chairs, deans, faculty senates, unions, CEO, trustees
   - external bodies who can provide additional impetus: legislatures,coordinatingbodies,accrediting agencies,professiona l associations, national organizations.

CONFERENCE FOLLOW-UP

Conference proceedings will be published in late 1989.

An hour-long, broadcast-quality videotape is being edited and should be released in the Summer of 1990.

Other follow-up activities will include a newsletter and future action-oriented conferences. Participants are committed to finding forums in professional meetings and journals to disseminate the ideas and recommendations from the conference.

From all accounts, this meeting had a significant personal meaning to all who attended, and we are seeking effective means to extend the impact to a larger audience.

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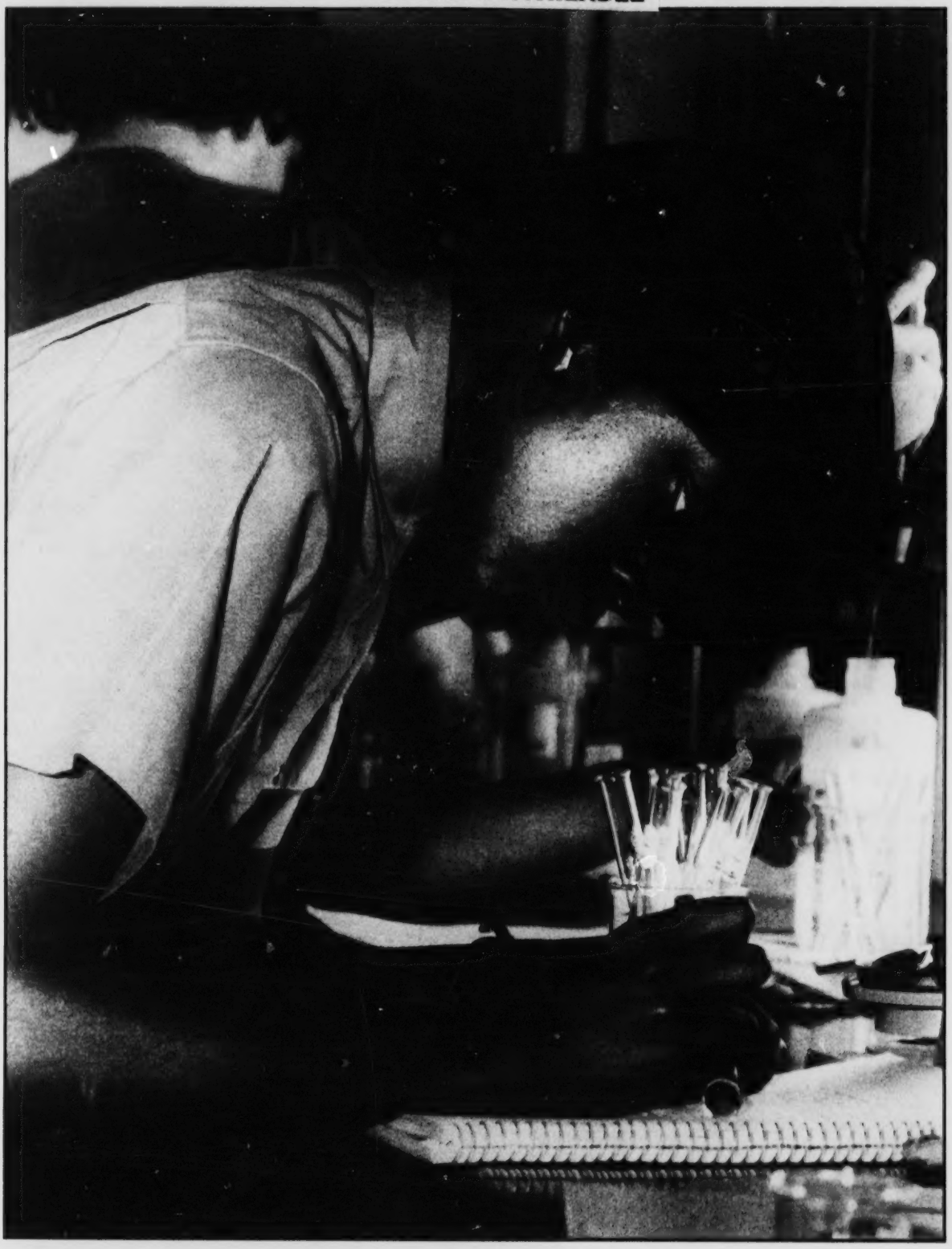

KEYNOTE ADDRESS:

What Do We Want from Institutions of Higher Education and Why?

Arturo Madrid
President
The Tomás Rivera Center
Affiliate of Claremont Graduate School

Let me begin by describing what it is we want and why we want it. Simply put, we want to be centrally involved in the life of one of the most important of institutions in our society, an institution from which we have suffered both *de jure* and *de facto* exclusion. What we individually want out of the institution of higher education may vary, but what we all share is a deep appreciation for the power of this institution *to sort, to validate and to define*. Thus the tenacity with which we seek to be part of the institution, despite its rejection of us. In many ways we are like an organ transplant on the body politic, and an appendix rather than a particularly vital organ at that. The body rejects us and attacks us with antibodies on a continuing basis.

Let me continue by saying that I bring no scholarly expertise to this discussion. I have no training in this area; have no scholarship on these issues; have no silver bullets or golden arrows that might once and for all solve the issue of our quasi- absence from the professional ranks of institutions of higher education. My academic training was as an analyst of the expressive uses of language; my professional experience has been principally as an administrator, and a good part of that administering scarcity and struggling against dissatisfaction, resistance, hostility and even fear. What I bring to you is the experience of almost three decades of life in the cauldron and a modicum of insight into our marginalization, into the mind-sets that undergird it, and into the discourse used to rationalize it.

At the Margins

I have spent a great deal of time in recent years speaking not to the converted but to the gatekeepers of institutions of higher education. Most recently, by virtue of my new responsibilities, I am having the opportunity to address larger audiences, principally persons in policy-making roles. What I talk to them about is our historical exclusion from the life of the society's institutions; about changes that took place in the 1960's and 1970's as a consequence of the Civil Rights Movement; about the implications of the growing demographic diversity that our society is undergoing; and about the problematical discourse that reigns in American society today and that is creating problems for all of us.

Some of you have heard me speak about what I call the "missing persons" phenomenon, about how minorities and (to a lesser extent white women) were until very recently not to be found among the administrative or professional staff of America's institutions. I describe our entrance into institutions of higher education using a personal anecdote, describing it as not unlike a scenario my grandmother's pastor described to her when she came to ask his blessing as she and her family prepared to leave their mountain village and move to the Rio Grande Valley. "Dona Trinidad," her pastor said, "I want you to promise me that you will continue going to church when you relocate in the Valley." When she asked why he would exact such a promise he told her that in the Valley there was no Spanish church; only an American church. When she protested that she spoke, read and wrote English he informed her that she might not be admitted to the fellowship. And thus he asked her to promise that if she could not enter through the front door, that she should enter through the back door. And if she could not come in through the back door she should come in the side door. And if she could not get in the side door she should come in the window. Some of us have entered institutional life through the front door; others through back and side door; and most of us through windows. The problem has been and continues to be that many of those who came in the front door were quickly ushered out or have been kept waiting in the foyer. Those who came in through back and side doors have remained in back and side rooms. And of course those who came in through windows have found enclosures built around them that permanently restrict their mobility.

Others of you have heard me talk about what I call the "only" phenomenon, about the problematical existence of being the *only* student or faculty member or officer in a class, department, division, college, university, or system.

Some of you have heard me speak about the handicaps we have had to work under, about what I call "chasing the game", since we constantly find ourselves placed ten year's behind the ball and pressed to catch up.

In recent years I have taken on the task of challenging a discourse that excludes and denigrates us; that is informed

by discussion of standards, quality, excellence; and that defines us as lacking, deficient and unworthy.

Most recently I have been speaking about the society's response to demographic diversity and change, about the protectionism—moral protectionism, demographic protectionism— linguistic protectionism and, something you know only too well, academic protectionism.

The end of the 1980's is not a dark moment when we compare it to the end of the 1970's. Conditions have changed, and issues that were then seen as private problems have become public challenges. But it is an uncertain moment. The stakes are higher and the pressures more intense than ever before. When we were few, marginal and invisible we were far less threatening. Our numbers menace. But numbers are not enough, as we know, and there lies the uncertainty. Can we, will we, develop the capacities and gain the positioning that will brighten our future?

Social Justice and Institutions of Higher Education: Community Demands and Institutional Responses in the 1960's, 1970's and 1980's

Institutions of higher education were an early focus of Civil Rights Movement activity, but principally with respect to undergraduate admissions. At the base it had to do with general access to all of America's colleges and universities and specific access to quality programs of study. And it also had to do with access to institutional expertise and resources for purposes of furthering social justice objectives. The issue of faculty and administrative presence, however, did not become a central one until the mid-1960's. Significant programmatic responses in the form of pre-doctoral fellowship programs did not occur until the very late 1960's and early 1970's. From a community perspective (and here I am using community in the very broadest sense), the matter of a professional presence was principally informed by two considerations: 1) a practical one, namely the demand for faculty and staff to teach and administer minority-specific courses and programs; and 2) a more complex yet no less significant one, the demand for mid- and executive-level appointments that would provide the community with a means for tapping into institutional resources to address community needs (both internal and external to the institution) and for leveraging institutional influence.

If one were to examine the 1950's catalog listing of the faculty and officers of America's institutions of higher education one would be hard put to find any Mexican Americans or American Indians occupying professional positions in more than a handful of institutions. In the case of Black Americans, outside of the traditional black institutions, the same would obtain. For Puerto Ricans, except for higher education institutions in Puerto Rico, the situation would be similar.

This changed significantly in the 1960's and 1970's. On the positive side, a significant percent of the society responded to the demands for social justice. The population supported legislation, policies and practices to eliminate barriers that excluded minorities from institutional life as well as those that encouraged, promoted and made possible the greater participation of minorities in American institutions. Litigation and social/political pressures forced resistant institutions and institutional leaders into compliance.

The programmatic response to the challenge of increasing minority academic presence was truly progressive, creative and significant. Fellowship programs were developed that were:

- large in scale
- national in scope
- communitarian in thrust
- populist in style
- dynamic in nature
- pyramidal in conceptualization
- empowering in purpose
- socially oriented in character

To be sure, some folks who probably would have been better off doing something else pursued doctoral programs of study. All too many of those who were suited for academic life never finished their programs of study. A not inconsiderable number of those who finished never obtained an academic position. Still others didn't get tenure.

Part of our problem in penetrating the institution was due to the moment of our penetration; that is, we entered higher education at the point of contraction. Part of it was our choice of fields. I suppose if we had all had the aptitude and the interest to go into engineering, computer science or business, things might have turned out otherwise. Some of it, I know, was due to our own idiosyncrasies; to our unwillingness to leave our *querencias*—that is, our home base, our turf—as well as to a phenomenon I refer to as the Marxian dilemma. I'm talking about Groucho's and not Karl's dilemma. Groucho's dilemma, you will recall, is that he didn't want to be a member of a club that would have him. Similarly, most of us had prepared ourselves for an appointment at Harvard and not at Tortilla Tech.

But the principal reason for our inability to penetrate higher education was that we were considered interlopers, not really wanted, certainly not considered worthy or able. We were seen as barbarians, given our unwillingness to accept conceptualizations that misrepresented us; methodologies that misinterpreted us; and fields of study that excluded us. As a consequence most of us never got sponsored, tapped or validated. And thus, for the most part, most did not systematically get socialized into the profession early on, never learned the unwritten, unspoken, implicit rules that obtained, and went (or tried to go) at it on our own.

By the beginning of the decade of the 1980's, community interest, concern and efforts had shifted to other institutions and other issues. And the gains realized during the 1960's and 1970's were seriously eroded. Undergraduate enrollment was down and declining, having peaked in 1976-1977;

graduate enrollments in programs of study leading to the doctorate and a career in higher education had peaked and declined precipitously; and the rate of staff, faculty and executive appointments had flattened out. Many who had prepared themselves for careers in higher education found themselves out in the cold.

Social Realities and Institutions of Higher Education: Changing Conditions and Institutional Responses

There is a growing realization in the world of higher education that institutional realities and dynamics are changing. Those realities are social and economic in nature and are being driven in large measure by demographic changes. The academic community may not want us, but the institution of higher education needs us, principally as students but inescapably as staff, faculty and officers. Institutional response to community demands will increasingly be guided by institutional self-interest, and the institution will have to adjust to those changes, despite the rhetoric of the resistant and the self-righteousness of the reactionaries. I refer here to the exclusivist dimensions of the discourse of quality and excellence as well as to the implicit message of such recent books as E.D. Hirsch's *Cultural Literacy* and Allan Bloom's *The Closing of the American Mind.*

Our concerns and our objectives have become the interests and the goals of educational leaders. Our discourse has in part become theirs. But that is but the tip of the iceberg. Much of the decision-making is still in the hands of persons who cannot see, do not want to see, or feel threatened by what they see. Their reaction has been to invent an academic golden age and to promote an academic protectionism that will take them back to that non-existent moment.

There is a different community attitude in the air these days, an attitude that views participation in the life of institutions of higher education as a social right and social necessity. It is informed by a growing sense of ownership in the society's institutions and by a strong and growing appreciation of the relationship between education and socio-economic well-being, between education and power. And yet, at the same time, the relative (and in some cases the absolute) numbers of our students who pursue post-secondary studies continues to decline. And the institution of higher education is increasingly seen as a means and not an end; that is, it is a place of preparation for action rather than a place of action. Moreover, a professional presence in colleges and universities is not seen as a high priority when compared to other professions and institutions.

The Challenge Before Us

But where does that leave us, persons committed to improving the professional status of minorities in higher education? On the positive side we have a growing and powerful set of allies and compelling conditions for change. On the negative side we have continuing resistance among the faculty and increasing reaction within the intellectual community. Possibly an even greater problem is the fact that the academic profession is not seen by our target population — African American, American Indian and Latino students pursuing programs of study leading towards a baccalaureate — as attractive, important or relevant; and the institution is not perceived to be either hospitable, dynamic or progressive.

I spent the years between 1967-1977 encouraging students to pursue academic careers. Between 1977 and 1987 I helped those who did so try to survive a very difficult period. A good part of my time was spent convincing still others that higher education was not the center of the world, contrary to a contagious, virulent and tenacious belief that infects us all. The institution has been and in large measure continues to be at its core a status quo institution. It continues to use its greatest strength, the power to define, to define us out. It has ceased to be, from the perspective of our community, a platform or lever for social change.

Perhaps the most important task before us is to make the case in our community for the importance of the institution qua institution; and for the need to have our community present in the student bodies and on the faculties, staff, administrations and policy-making bodies of the institution.

There are, as well, some additional tasks we must undertake. They are:

1. to personally and energetically involve ourselves in efforts to increase the number of young people who:
   - pursue college preparatory programs of study;
   - enter college
   - complete baccalaureate programs of study
   - enter graduate school
   - obtain the doctorate
   - obtain an academic or administrative appointment
   - survive the probationary process
   - develop professionally
2. to start making our voices heard in other than our networks, our associations, our societies; to become public persons and develop public voices;
3. to become experts on the facts and figures of a changing demography as well as on its socio-economic implications;
4. to challenge on a continuing basis discourse, policies and practices that exclude, denigrate, marginalize or ghettoize us;
5. to make common cause with those of our institutional leaders who have read the handwriting on the wall and seek to respond to the challenge.

Not to do so is to despair and to abandon the field of action to those who would be happy to see us out instead of in. I will close by recalling to you a verse from a popular song: "If you live on the edge, you have to get used to the cuts." I would paraphrase it as follows: "If you are going to live on the margins, you have to realize you're going to get rubbed out."

ISSUE 1

Access and Outreach

In what ways can faculty develop more sophisticated procedures to ferret out talent and potential in the graduate admissions process, and in what ways can they contribute to the development of talent in the earlier stages of schooling to enlarge the pool of minority students eligible for graduate admission?

Some assumptions

If more African Americans, American Indians and Latinos are to become scholars, it will be necessary to work throughout the education system to make that happen. Faculty members are probably most effective in their home territory—the colleges and universities—but they can also be effective with outreach programs connecting them to high school students, through teachers, guidance counselors, special events, special academic programs.

Effective work can be done with undergraduates to increase their motivation for and their preparation for successful graduate study.

Enrollment strategies that include "calculated risks" instead of just "guaranteed successes" can succeed, especially where appropriate support is committed.

Passive recruitment will not discover and cultivate the academic talent of underrepresented groups.

Some initial questions

What are the common practices of recruiting and selecting graduate students, and how do these affect potential scholars who are African American, American Indians and Latinos?

What are the recruitment practices of faculty who are trying to enlarge the pool of eligible minority people to become scholars?

Do faculty who are trying to enlarge the graduate student pool have expectations of minority scholars different from those of faculty who are not making such efforts?

What special efforts have been successful in the recruitment of minority people into graduate school? What are the institutional or other constraints on special recruitment programs?

Are there ways of measuring talent that can be added to the usual grade point average and scores on standardized tests such as the GRE? What success have departments/institutions had in using such additional criteria?

What successful outreach programs now exist to bring high school minority young people into academic careers? What about efforts at the elementary or pre-elementary level? What part do faculty members play in these activities? ("Outreach" refers to recruitment activity to groups younger than or otherwise notably different from those attained by routine procedures.)

Can you suggest:

- recruitment and outreach activities for faculty aimed at increasing the number of African American, American Indian and Latino scholars?
- groups outside formal schools which might be instrumental in encouraging young minority people to become scholars; e.g., community or church leaders, media? How could faculty work with such groups?
- ways to assess proposed recruitment and outreach practices?

The foregoing statements and questions are based on work of the National Advisory Council in preparation for the Conference.

THE ROLE OF GRADUATE FACULTY IN BRINGING DEMOCRACY TO GRADUATE EDUCATION

Leonard A. Valverde
Vice President for Academic Affairs
The University of Texas at San Antonio

The fundamental purpose of education is to awaken and develop the intellectual and spiritual power in the individual.

This paper will explore the role graduate faculty should play in the identification of ethnic and racial minority talent, in providing a supportive graduate school environment so that Blacks, Hispanics and Native Americans can succeed in their graduate studies. The fundamental issue is how to bring democracy to graduate education.

Since institutions are products of society and are not immune to society's dynamics, it is necessary to take a macro view of current phenomena in higher education. Naisbitt (1982) states that the United States has left a post-industrial society and become an information society. Joel Garreau (1981) contends that the United States is really nine nations within North America, each region with its own character—population , economic base, tradition, customs, politics, etc. Others, like Ramirez and Castañeda (1974), postulate that the United States is in a struggle to establish cultural democracy. This current struggle is the third wave of an evolution toward full democracy. The first struggle was for political democracy (1776-1870), and the second struggle was for economic democracy (1870-1960).

Bringing democracy to full flower means providing equal opportunity for all, particularly fundamental rights guaranteed by the government to its citizens. Although graduate education is not a fundamental right, education has always been a state responsibility, vested in state charters and manifested in land-grant institutions and state higher education systems. More importantly, in the future the United States will require more citizens with advanced education, if it is going to be competitive in the world economic market. And, more and more, the composition of the United States citizenry will be made up of ethnic and racial "minorities."

In the pages that follow, an attempt will be made (a) to present a set of assumptions about the current and impending circumstances facing non-white graduate students and white faculties in graduate education; (b) to identify common practices used by most graduate schools in their efforts at early outreach, recruitment, admission and retention of non-white students; (c) to critique the current practices; (d) to cite a number of exemplary efforts; and (e) to share a set of recommendations about what faculty can do to identify minority talent before graduate school and to develop the talent of black, Hispanic and Native American students while in graduate school.

Current and Emerging Circumstances

Hodgkinson (1985) has pointed out that by the year 2000 our population will be one-third "minority." Just after the year 2000, the minorities will become the majority of people under the age of 30 in the five southwestern states (Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico and Texas). Also by the year 2000, the United States population is projected to increase by 12.3 percent (WICHE, 1987). Over 60 percent of this projected growth will be made up by Hispanics (45.9 percent) and Blacks (23 percent). Whites will account for only 6.5 percent, while 24.4 percent of the increase is anticipated from other groups.

In some metropolitan school districts across the country, student bodies are already majority "minorities"; e.g., Atlanta is 92 percent; Newark is 91 percent; San Antonio, 89 percent; San Francisco, 83 percent; Chicago, 81 percent; Los Angeles, 76 percent. (*U.S. News*, 1983) In contrast to these upward trends for non-white populations, national statistics report downward education trends, low achievement on national test scores and, of more importance, high attrition rates prior to graduation from high sc' ool. (*The Condition of Education*, 1986-7)

At the graduate level, from 1976 to 1982, black student enrollment, along with Hispanic student enrollment, continued to drop. (Pruitt and Isaac, 1985) For example, black student enrollment in graduate schools declined from 65,326 in 1976 to 54,686 in 1982, or a 16.3 percent decrease. Beyond enrollment, in 1984, only 5.6 percent of all doctorates awarded went to minority students, 3.5 percent were awarded to Blacks, 1.9 percent to Hispanics and 0.2 percent to American Indians. (Adams, 1987)

The importance of incorporating minorities into higher education will escalate, in the near future, from a current ethical issue of fairness to one of economics. People of color will be the workforce contributing substantially to the social securi-

ty system upon which older people will be dependent. Moreover, while 22 percent of today's jobs require a college education, more than 50 percent of the new jobs created before the year 2000 will require education beyond high school (Anderson, 1987). Economic growth will depend less on the exploitation of natural resources, the basis of an industrial economy, and more on the development of human resources, the basis of a technological economy. Therefore, the United States will require a greater commitment to equity and effectiveness in its education system than has been evident in the past.

In order to be more effective, higher education will need to adopt the concept of "value added" to its understanding of education. No longer will universities be able to continue their common practice of admitting successful students who achieve on their own, awarding them a degree and then proceeding to claim credit for the students' completion. To meet the demands of U.S. society and of world economic competition, university faculty will need to approach education as a means to add to the individual's development and enhance each person's talent. Faculty will need to concern themselves with the skills students have when they *exit* their programs, not just the skills they possess when they *enter*.

Related to a concern for effectiveness is the viewpoint that excellence and equity are not mutually exclusive. Excellence will need to be redefined in broader terms than cut-off scores on the Graduate Record Exam. To admit minority students under a narrow definition of excellence which stigmatizes them is both detrimental and unnecessary.

Current Practice - Limitations and Possibilities

After a dramatic increase in participation of minorities in higher education during the 1960's and 70's, participation during the 1980's has declined. In 1985, Blacks received only 1,040 of the total of 31,201 doctoral degrees awarded. The Woodrow Wilson Foundation (1987) states that black enrollment in graduate schools has declined more than 19 percent in the past decade. And while it can be argued that the decline in federal support for higher education has contributed to the decline, recruitment practices established by graduate faculties have certainly done their negative part.

Standardization At the center of the problem is that pillar of the current admission process—standardization. Narrow standards require exceptions to be made. Historically, exceptions have been made for athletes, unqualified sons or daughters of wealthy families who make financial contributions to the university, students sponsored by political influentials, etc. Regrettably, in the minds of faculty, minority students are associated with these types of exceptions. Faculty perceive specially-admitted students as inferior. The university administration is seen as making exceptions based on legal mandates and for statistical purposes. Most faculty do not differentiate among the differing reasons for special admission and frequently do not see the experiences of minorities as justifying exceptional admissions practices.

Standardization promotes uniformity of approach; that is, no serious consideration is given to persons who do not fit the mold. The model applicant comes from a reputedly good undergraduate institution, having a high grade-point average, high Graduate Record Exam scores and references from respected colleagues. The mold is academically narrow and is rooted in elitism. Maintaining the mold as "academically appropriate" permits graduate faculty to concentrate on research, spending little time on teaching or on developing research assistants from among those students whose experience—and strengths—are different.

Inappropriate value given to standardization stifles diversity. Persons with different cultural, experiential and cognitive perspectives are devalued and kept out. Ethnocentrism is honored instead of pluralism. Uniformity steadily suppresses individualization, and diversity is reduced to nil. In turn, standardization lowers the chances for divergent perspectives and lessens the development of new knowledge. Such overvaluation of narrow standards tends to stultify the academy, perpetuates society as it is, freezes the false image in the minds of many that minorities are inferior and enhances the chances of white youth to continue to receive society's leadership posts from their elders, even in a world which needs as much diverse and highly-developed talent as possible.

Separate Admissions The current pattern of higher education is still one of segregated and disproportionate enrollments. Richardson and Bender (1987) state that the majority of baccalaureate degrees awarded to minorities are granted by a relatively small number of institutions. Of the 1,658 baccalaureate colleges and universities reported in 1978-79, a mere 362 institutions account for Blacks receiving 82 percent of the bachelor's degrees and Hispanics receiving 80 percent. In the main, over 75 percent of the U.S. colleges and universities have evaded their responsibility to educate a growing segment of our nation's population.

To achieve the necessary changes, recruitment, admission and retention of minority students can no longer be practiced as a separate effort. Instead, minority recruitment and admission will have to become an integral part of the regular admission process. However, the institution will have to continue financial support to the minority effort. Furthermore, conditions have necessitated that recruitment be expanded beyond the limited scope of influencing the choices the individual will make in selecting a university to an earlier identification of prospective students.

Faculty Role Admission to graduate schools is primarily carried out at the departmental level, within institutional requirements and guidelines. White students, even those who do not meet admission criteria for graduate school, are more active in seeking out (and being sought out for) graduate study opportunities. In contrast, minority students aren't encouraged even to think about graduate school. Furthermore, minority students have typically been conditioned in elementary and secondary schools to believe they are less able. The failure of encouragement, on top of negative condi-

tioning, makes them less likely to inquire assertively about post-baccalaureate study. White students are nominated to graduate programs more often than minority students are. Such nominations are important, because of the departmental say in graduate admissions. Departments can request admission of candidates who do not meet all the requirements for graduate school. In such cases, faculty recommendation can be crucial.

Presently, recruitment in some institutions has been enlarged into being part of the education of students: it can no longer be thought of as disconnected from the educational process. Consequently, recruitment, as a means of talent identification and development, will need to become part of the faculty role. Involvement of faculty will need to be central instead of peripheral. Involvement of faculty will not be limited to their giving information about the university or procedures for admissions but will be more extensive; e.g., faculty working with students to increase their desire to become graduate students; graduate faculty working with undergraduate faculty and public school teachers to prepare students to meet admission standards and be successful in matriculating later on in graduate school.

Outreach and Retention Recruitment has to be extended in two directions, early outreach and retention. The strategy of early identification, now considered an unusual approach, will need to become standard operating procedure. With ethnic/racial minority students projected to be in greater numbers and the educational achievement gap for such students assumed to continue, the identification of talented students as early as junior high school will be necessary if they are to be insured the preparation necessary for eventual graduate recruitment. New sources for possible candidates need to be explored, such as the stop-out student who leaves school to work in order to save money to continue education later, or the person already in the work force who can be recruited in offices or business schools, hospitals or government agencies, etc.

Retention of students is the most important recruitment tool faculty have to attract future minority students. Low retention rates, particularly of minority students, are no longer acceptable. High attrition of minorities is a red flag, signaling lack of institutional commitment.

Enhancing Minority Talent Pool There are two possible approaches to enlarging the number of minority students participating in higher education. (Both supersede the traditional approach, which was not to recruit at all but to rely on the "old boy" network—the connections of acquaintanceship among the white, male professoriate.) One approach is to seek out the qualified minority student by visiting schools with a high concentration of minorities, providing information and extending invitations to visit campus, following up with letters and telephone calls. A different, intervention approach aims to enlarge the minority pool by making exceptions to regular admission requirements. To compensate for the special-admit status, institutions hold summer "bridge programs," they offer remedial courses during the regular semester, and they provide counseling and tutoring services, as well as financial aid. While most familiar when applied to undergraduate students, versions of this approach are also used at the graduate level in some institutions.

Minority faculty The role of minority graduate faculty in recruitment and admission of minority students is more problematical. There are too few minority faculty in doctoral-degree granting programs; there are many, many graduate departments that have no minority faculty; departments that do have minority faculty usually have only one; of the few graduate minority faculty, even fewer are at the senior level. Thus, they are not in a position to control their own destinies, let along influence the careers of others. Further, because of their paucity and low status, they are unable to devote sufficient time to admission committees, advising, recruiting or becoming program heads, department chairs or graduate advisors. Moreover, when minority faculty have assumed, whether on their own initiative or by administrative assignment, the overload of recruiting, advising, mentoring and committee service, such service has placed them at risk during the tenure decision process.

As the nation's demography changes, and its economic need for highly-trained people and for educational effectiveness increases, it will become necessary for more faculty, not just minority faculty, to become involved in recruiting and nurturing minority talent. All faculty will need to carry this responsibility equally and to be rewarded in kind.

Some Model Efforts

Most of the major public and private research universities across the country have assembled capable staff and established minority recruitment and retention services at the undergraduate level. Almost all of these universities use the same strategies, such as early outreach into public junior and senior high schools, community colleges; campus visitation days; membership in the Name Exchange; use of special admission criteria; summer bridge programs; study skill centers; remedial courses; counseling and tutoring; financial assistance programs. For a detailed set of individual strategies utilized by universities to recruit and support minority students into and through graduate, as well as undergraduate, education, please see Appendix A of this paper.

Moreover, there are non-university-sponsored endeavors specifically targeted to ethnic minority students, such as the McKnight Fellowship Program in Florida, NASA's Minority Graduate Research Program with Historically Black Colleges and Universities, NSF Minorities Fellowship Program, the GEM Program, the Woodrow Wilson Black Scholars Program, Texas Alliance of Minority Engineers and the College Board's Project Equality.

Recommendations for Future Action

While many universities have had some success with their organized efforts, and many special-focus non-university pro-

grams are reaching their intended goals, it will require faculty throughout higher education to change focus and behavior if graduate education is to admit and nurture all the types of minority students who can benefit themselves and society through earning advanced degrees. "As educators, we simply can no longer content ourselves with progress for minorities that is episodic, grudging and vulnerable to quick reversal. [We must become dedicated] to dramatic and lasting change—change that will benefit not only minority students but all students and, ultimately, the nation as a whole. . . ." (SHEEO Report, 1987)

Graduate faculty, in general, have not kept pace with the steady evolution of minority recruitment. In fact, a strong case can be made that lack of faculty responsiveness has resulted in high attrition rates among all graduate students, minority and white alike. So far, our discussion has shown that faculty participation is essential. The remainder of the paper will center on creating a campus environment and a faculty role to enhance minority student participation in graduate education.

University-wide action The best approach is to develop a comprehensive plan. Individual strategies, of faculty members or departments, or even of schools within the university, cannot create a whole environment favorable to minority students. Undergirding such a favorable environment must be a positive attitude toward minority participation and a commitment to minority student success. The attitude accepts that minority students are not deficient but different.

Climate building is primarily under the influence of the leadership post. Chief executive officers must express a vigorous will to succeed in increasing minority participation in graduate education. They manifest affirmative action with statements, actions, instituting a reward system which produces incentive, monitoring progress, reorganizing efforts, initiating new ideas, setting and sticking to priorities. .

Defining talent Most importantly, the definition of talent and potential must be expanded to include traditionally underrepresented persons. For example, "talent" should not be narrowly defined; instead it should include such attributes as ability to analyze, to describe extensively, to solve problems, to be creative, to have high energy, to be highly productive. "Potential" should be seen as possession of traits like persistence, self motivation, self discipline and organization. Identification of talent and potential have been restricted to high Graduate Record Exam scores and grade point averages. It may take time to discover the best sources of information and indicators of such qualities, but faculty can often discern them, even today, from a careful look at a student's records. Without an expanded definition, universities will continue to seek out only the super-Hispanic and super-Black, ignoring the majority of capable minority students.

Faculty will need to de-emphasize their gate-keeping role, especially when it is grounded on biased beliefs and misperceptions of minorities. Instead, they will need to involve themselves as teachers, mentors and sponsors. They must concentrate on improving campus programs, services, attitudes and behavior resulting in quality educational experiences for students. success in attracting and developing minority scholars means not just identifying, recruiting and admitting them but participating in the actual process of their education; i.e., providing experiences that prepare and engage students' minds and energies.

Finding and enhancing talent Faculty need to be encouraged to emphasize two major functions: talent identification and talent development. Both functions are traditional to the role of faculty. However, applying these functions to minority students will be seen as extra-curricular. As talent identifiers, they must concern themselves with questions of definition and measurement. That power to define and measure qualifications is critical. In addition, identifying will require faculty to play a role in early outreach activities, recruitment activities and review of applicants for admission.

The function of talent developers will best be met by performing such roles as teacher, advisor, liaison, role model, mentor, friend and sponsor. (Toy, 1985) Graduate education is a highly personal process. Seminars are small, students work directly with faculty members as assistants. Only by emphasizing and playing all their different roles in relation to minority students can faculty enable them to come forth and be scholars with greater quality and in greater numbers.

Faculty are held in high esteem. They are expected to embrace the highest moral standards and promote quality and equality for all segments of society. In addition, black, Hispanic or Native American professors provide living proof that minorities can make it through the system. They offer concrete encouragement to young aspiring minority scholars that it can be done.

Faculty roles Students need information about institutional requirements and procedures, about department policies and practices, about program customs—much of which is unwritten or difficult to understand. Professors have such information to transmit by word of mouth. To insure that they get it, minority students—who may be on campus less, because they must work to support their education—should have an assigned faculty member whose responsibility it is to bridge the information gap.

The role of mentor includes knowledge about how students can anticipate pitfalls and overcome difficulties. Here the relationship becomes one of advocate, defender and protector of the student by the professor. For minority students, mentors are more important, since these students are less understood by faculty in general. Someone needs to speak on their behalf at faculty meetings.

Lastly, and probably the key, faculty must be friends to students. The years of graduate study are a period of social readjustment for many mature adults, and social problems may become a major source of concern. That is, individual self esteem is lowered, since the student is placed back in a dependent status and forced into a lower standard of living. Many students seem to value faculty friendships, perhaps

because they see their professors as survivors of the academic struggle in which they are currently engaged. For many minorities, graduate school is an isolated and, at times, hostile setting. Thus friendship is basic for survival.

In closing, graduate programs need a critical mass of caring faculty, including minority professors, as well as a body of minority graduate students, in order to eliminate the "outsider" factor. The human need to belong—to associate and feel accepted and wanted—is strong. Attending to these psychological needs is vital. Faculty can and should relieve mental stress and increase comfort. The alternative, perhaps based on outmoded concepts of "social Darwinism," insures not that the "fittest" will survive, but that academia will surely lose too many students who, if appropriately supported, would add their numbers and their scholarly capability to a nation and a world that need them.

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APPENDIX A

Strategies to Increase Participation of Blacks/Hispanics in Higher Education

The strategies below were first gathered (by the author and graduate students) from the relevant literature, then submitted to experts around the country for their ranking. The lists show the resulting ranks, from highest to lowest, with additional strategies suggested by the experts appearing at the end of each category.

Undergraduate Enrollment

1. Increase recruitment efforts at junior/community colleges with high enrollments of blacks and Hispanics.
2. Hire more faculty and staff who understand the needs of minority students and can serve as appropriate role models.
3. Improve financial aid packages.
4. Contact parents of minority students.
5. Increase travel funds for recruitment.
6. Utilize minority alumni in recruiting efforts.
7. Contact all minority students scoring 900 or over on PSAT and/or SAT, or over 20 on the ACT.
8. Develop a relationship with public schools which fosters cooperation and understanding—provide lectures in high schools, workshops on importance of college-preparatory programs at junior high and middle schools.
9. Hire full-time staff members to recruit minority students and disseminate information.
10. Provide funds to highly motivated minority students enrolling with provisional status.
11. Hire currently enrolled junior/senior minority students to contact each newly admitted minority student the week before registration.
12. Establish recruitment council of qualified experts.
13. Develop a CAMP (College Assistance for Migrants Program) to increase enrollment of these students.
14. Develop informational materials specifically for minority students.
15. Do on-site recruitment in minority community centers.
16. Advertise in minority media publications and on radio and TV programs directed at minorities.
17. Increase the number of students admitted provisionally.
18. Improve academic advising for the disadvantaged.
19. Guarantee a place in university residence halls to minority scholarship students if they accept prior to June 1.
20. Send application invitations to those students with PSAT scores of 700 or more.
21. Provide scholarships for students to travel to summer orientation.
22. Make additional recruiting visits to high schools with higher than average rates of SAT participation.
23. Develop educational needs assessment for minorities to determine.

24. Establish a financial aid hotline staffed by bilingual personnel.
25. Explore the possibility for an optional admissions testing instrument.
26. Analyze transfer credit of accepted candidates soon after approval.
27. Invite small groups of high school counselors from predominantly minority schools to campus for workshops on recruitment, financial aid, support services, and academic programs.
28. Provide workshops on PPST preparation for prospective teachers.
29. Expand the use of student para-professionals for academic advising.

Additional suggestions:

- Seek a legislative resolution calling for 'parity representation' of high school graduates in higher education by year which requires reports to be submitted annually.
- Provide assistance to minority students in completing financial aid forms.
- Host receptions for minority students in major population centers.
- Provide workshops on financial aid for minority parents in high schools, churches, community centers, etc., in both English and Spanish.
- Work with parents of minority students while the students are still in elementary and junior high school so they can encourage, support, and guide their children.

Retention

1. Set up early warning system to identify students who are experiencing academic difficulty in classes.
2. Set up tutorial aids and study groups.
3. Establish academic support programs such as courses addressing basic skill development, centers for address study skill development, etc.
4. Conduct seminars for faculty and administrators to improve their awareness of minority student learning and social anxieties.
5. Establish a counseling center to address psychological, social, personal, and academic concerns of minority students.
6. Develop cultural events reflecting and celebrating the heritage of minority groups and the contributions such groups make to society.
7. Designate official university liaison with minority organizations on campus and minority community organizations.
8. Develop information for students detailing ways to become involved in the university community.
9. Provide computer-assisted instruction.

Additional suggestions:

- Hire minority faculty, administrators, and staff to serve in key roles.
- Provide financial aid packages which reward rather than reduce the awards of those who persist.
- Encourage/structure faculty mentoring of minority students.
- Encourage/structure student support groups.

Graduate Enrollment

1. Improve financial aid packages to cover more than one year.
2. Have two-day graduate information session, invite all minority juniors with a GPA of 3.0 or more.
3. Increase assistance programs for part-time students.
4. Make available graduate and professional housing.
5. Have weekend seminars for prospective undergraduate minority students to meet other students and liaison officers to discuss potential for success, environment of support, etc.
6. Invite minority juniors to attend six-week course to improve competence in research, writing, computer use, and statistics.
7. Send minority graduate/professional students on recruiting trips.
8. Ensure personal contact between professional students (e.g. medical) and potential black and Hispanic acceptees.
9. Develop cooperative work and graduate degree programs with local industry.
10. Provide daycare services for students with children.
11. Send letters to students identified.
12. Host receptions in major population centers to the target population.
13. Develop minority liaison program—minority office meets with minority students regularly.
14. Interview existing students for evaluative purposes.
15. Correct post-baccalaureate deficiencies prior to assumption of full course load.
16. Conduct informal seminars for peer counseling.
17. Develop year-long orientation program to introduce students to the university and their chosen profession.
18. Require students to meet monthly with graduate advisor, committee chair, or advisory committee.
19. Develop, write, and publish a resource guide and an educational opportunities newsletter.

Additional suggestions:

- Have minority faculty contact minority graduate students.
- Provide financial assistance to allow minority graduate students to attend professional conferences.
- Provide dissertation/thesis assistance.
- Encourage/structure faculty mentoring.
- Encourage/structure student support groups.

Employment

1. Develop cooperative relationships with minority institutions.
2. Increase minority participation in administrative positions.
3. Provide summer research salaries for summer faculty.
4. Provide new funds to deans to ensure competitive minority recruitment.
5. Provide sabbatical leave for minority applicants to upgrade their academic preparation.
6. Establish a formal mentor/protege relationship with minority faculty and senior faculty.
7. Have deans and chairs develop plans with quantifiable goals for increasing the number of minority faculty in their departments.
8. Pay applicant's travel and relocation expenses.
9. Maintain lists of attractive minority candidates for faculty positions.
10. Advertise in publications with large minority readership.
11. Refer potential minority candidates with special qualities and experiences who might not otherwise be referred to the screening committee for special consideration.
12. Establish connections with the region's doctoral producing universities to assist in recruitment.
13. Survey available and qualified minority personnel before promoting whites into administrative positions.
14. Initiate a comprehensive management training program for minority employees.
15. Seek active participation of cabinet administrators in minority recruitment.
16. Conduct faculty tenure and retention analysis.
17. Invite minorities to give guest lectures and pay their expenses.
18. Provide an academic assistant to each new minority faculty member.
19. Reconsider promotion criteria for minority faculty to give more weight for services to students and community groups.
20. Create non-tenure track positions for minorities and provide opportunities for improving skills to those wishing to become tenure track.
21. Provide appointments for minorities on yearly or semester basis.

Additional suggestions:

- Hold institutional leadership accountable for progress in minority hiring; financial incentives and sanctions should be imposed.
- Hold deans more accountable for minority hiring.
- Use minorities for discretionary, tenure-track positions.

RESPONSE

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The issue of increasing access and retention for underrepresented minority students to pursue graduate study cannot adequately be addressed without assessing the societal forces which, in part, promote or inhibit the process. Clearly, in his paper, "The Role of Faculty in Bringing Democracy to Graduate Education," Leonard Valverde addresses the influences of society on declining minority enrollments in graduate school and the major role that faculty must play if we are to reverse this alarming trend. In his introductory comments, he reviews the role our educational institutions have historically played in initiating activities to promote access, as well as those used in creating barriers to maintain the status quo; he provides a clear perspective from which we may begin to focus our attention.

Professor Valverde's overview of the progression of America from an industrial to a technological society provides an assessment of our current and future economic needs, the employment outlook for highly trained persons who will be employed in technological/services-oriented settings, and the role graduate education must play in developing talent from all segments of our society to assume leadership roles. At a time when the United States is becoming ever more economically dependent on resources manufactured in other countries, and is now competing—not always favorably—in international markets, it is clear that as a nation we must increasingly become more culturally sensitive and linguistically competent if we are to address economic and defense issues related to world peace. It seems rather shortsighted to recognize the need to encourage cultural sensitivity, as is now the case with businesses involved in international markets, on the one hand, while denying cultural and racial minorities in the United States access to many of our higher education institutions, on the other.

Future generations will need to develop pluralistic rather than ethnocentric values and to interact effectively in a variety of international settings. In many instances, those involved in graduate education merely reflect attitudes of the society as a whole about who should be tomorrow's leaders. Historically those granted access to higher education in large numbers have not been people of color. Even the small gains of the 1970's are beginning to erode. The most recent *Summary Report (1986), Doctorate Recipients From United States Universities*, prepared by the National Research Council, reveals that the racial composition of new Ph.D. recipients has changed significantly over the last decade, with Black Americans experiencing the greatest declines. The number of black U.S. citizens receiving the doctorate dropped from 1,116 in 1976 to 820 in 1986 a reduction of 26.5 percentage. This decline is even more alarming when we examine black

male recipients, who decreased by more than half, from 684 in 1976 to only 321 ten years later. While there were slight increases for both Hispanics and American Indians over the last decade, with the percentage of those earning the doctorate increasing from 423 (2.4 percent) in 1977 to 567 (3.6 percent) in 1986, and from 65 in 1977 to 99 in 1986 respectively, the groups continue to be underrepresented as compared to their numbers in the population. The largest gains were made for Asian Americans, whose numbers increased from 339 to 527 during this same period. I agree with the author that we have not systematically addressed the need to promote the talents of cultural and racial minorities at virtually all levels of our educational system, and we have not been future-oriented in our outlook. While Blacks and Hispanics now make up over 50 percent of our public school population in many of our nation's urban settings, the number matriculating to four year colleges and universities has actually declined.

It is true, however, that many of those in decision-making positions do not personally relate to the consequences of failing to educate large numbers of minority students. For example, in examining the school-age population for the state of Illinois, one now finds that Black, Hispanic, Asian American and American Indian youngsters make up over 33 percent of those in the state's public schools with Blacks accounting for 22.3 percent, Hispanics 8.5%, Asian Americans 2.4%, and American Indians .01 percent (Illinois State Board of Education, 1988). Yet in most higher education institutions in the state these groups continue to be sorely underrepresented. Collectively they will represent the numerical majority in the near future. These are the individuals who must be trained to become contributing members of the work force. They will be the contributors to the social security system and the taxpayers of the future. If they are in practice denied access to many of our higher education institutions, as is now the case, many will become recipients, rather than producers of services and resources.

After providing a context in which to examine the issue of the dwindling number of minority scholars, Valverde focuses on why the current practices used to recruit underrepresented groups to higher education, while necessary, have not produced desired results. An examination of current efforts reveals that frequently those involved on a daily basis with identifying, recruiting and retaining minority students are those with little or no influence on the admission process. These are generally minority individuals in administrative positions who are expected to "work miracles," often without adequate funds or resources. The point is made that, while many of the programs are successful to some degree, even with increased activities at individual institutions, we have not been successful in expanding the pool.

Barriers to Access

Applicants from underrepresented racial groups frequently encounter barriers when applying to graduate programs. Among the most important are: a) lack of information, b) inadequate academic preparation and research experience, c) lower standardized test scores, d) little or no financial aid to support graduate study, and e) the lack of a faculty sponsor to monitor the admissions process and to serve as an advocate on the student's behalf (Copeland, 1984). Even when minority applicants have profiles similar to their white counterparts, they generally are not a part of the informal "networks" and frequently do not have departmental support.

Those of us involved in the recruiting and retention process are often frustrated when we identify an outstanding minority student who, for whatever reason, is not admissible according to departmental standards. We realize that it is the faculty who sit on admissions committees, who encourage or "turn off" potential minority applicants, and who make decisions on who will receive departmental support (i.e., scholarships, teaching and research assistantships).

The availability of funds to support graduate study is critical for members of underrepresented racial groups if they are to pursue higher education in numbers proportional to their representation in the nation's population (Thomas, 1987; Trent & Copeland, 1987). Yet, many of these students completing the bachelor's degree have supported much of their education with student loans. They are not as likely to be willing to remain in higher education if financial support is not available. For example, the *Summary Report of Doctorate Recipients From United States Universities (1986)* reveals black recipients were more likely to have relied on personal sources to support graduate study than other racial minority groups or their white counterparts with 82 percent reporting the need to use personal and family resources. Black doctoral recipients were least likely to receive teaching and research assistantships. In fact, while 46.6 percent of all recipients received teaching assistantships, only 26.1 percent of black recipients reported receiving such support. When comparing research assistantships, an even greater disparity was found, in that only 16.8 percent of Blacks received research assistantships as compared to 37.8 percent of the total. The lack of financial support apparently influences the time lapse toward the degree. For example, the median time lapse of all 1986 recipients from B.A. to Ph.D. was 10.5 years, as compared to 14.4 years for American Blacks. These data reflect interrupted study reported by more black recipients (Copeland, 1987).

In his concluding discussion, Professor Valverde forcefully makes the case that, if changes are to be made, the faculty of educational institutions will need to become involved with minority students at every educational level. It bears repeating that, in the author's words, graduate faculty members throughout this country have tended to be "gatekeepers," rather than facilitators, and they are the ones who must redefine their roles if lasting changes are to be made. Most higher education institutions have as part of their mission, teaching, research and service. Yet some graduate faculty, especially in major research universities, do not wish to interact with students. They are more concerned with developing outstanding records of research. They value their worth in terms of the

research dollars they generate.

While I agree with the author that many non-minority students gain access through the informal networks, because of the already- established channels of communication, faculty members who rely on recommendations of other "respected" members of the academy often have to do little to solicit the names of "outstanding" non- minority students. They may have, in other words, little experience in active recruiting. The suggestion that these faculty members become identifiers of talent early, foster and nurture the development of black, Hispanic, American Indian students, and eventually serve as their sponsors will not be followed without institutional commitment from the highest levels of administration. Policies, organizational structures and resources which facilitate faculty involvement will need to be present, at least for the short term. Administrators at the highest levels of an institution must clearly articulate the institution's commitment to address the problem of underrepresentation. Appropriate rewards and incentives for addressing the problem must be in place. A viable model must also include appropriate "punishment" for those units who do not take the problem seriously. Below are descriptions of successful programs which target minority students at the graduate, undergraduate, and the public school level.

Exemplary Programs

One major effort at inter-institutional cooperation was initiated by **Committee on Institutional Cooperation (CIC)**, a consortium of Big Ten Universities and the University of Chicago, in 1975. That year the graduate schools of CIC institutions established a Panel on Increased Access for Minorities to Graduate Study. Programs to address underrepresentation now include: the Minority Graduate Education Conference conducted annually by CIC institutions to encourage minority students to consider graduate study, the CIC Summer Research Opportunities Program (SROP), a joint effort to provide research experiences for minority sophomores and juniors, the CIC Name Exchange Program and the *CIC Directory of Minority Ph.D. Candidates and Recipients*, published annually to increase the professional opportunities of minority students and to aid colleges and universities and other potential employers in their efforts to identify and recruit highly educated underrepresented minorities.

One exemplary CIC program to expand the pool which involves faculty is the newly established Summer Research Opportunities Program (SROP). This program is jointly sponsored by the CIC and the graduate schools at each institution. The objective is to provide a summer research experience for minority sophomores and juniors at those institutions. The Summer Research Opportunities Program provides minority sophomores and juniors an opportunity to develop and explore a research topic of their choice. Underrepresented minorities (American Indians, Black Americans, Mexican-Americans, and Puerto Ricans) who are sophomores or juniors with a cumulative grade point average of 3.75 (A = 5) or better are eligible. Each student selected to participate in the program is matched with a faculty member conducting research in the student's area of interest. The faculty member assists in designing an appropriate research project for the student and monitors the student's work. Students prepare a research paper and abstract with the assistance of the faculty advisor, which is submitted at the end of the Summer Research Opportunity Program. At the conclusion of the program, each student presents an oral summary of the work accomplished at a meeting of all participants, their faculty mentors, and college representatives. The program provides a stipend of $2,000 for eight weeks to those students selected. This experience is not considered employment during the summer but is an opportunity to work with an outstanding faculty member in a first-rate research university. Faculty advisors receive a research allowance of up to $1,000.

A total of 231 students throughout the CIC participated in the Program last summer. While the Program activities provided students an opportunity to develop a one-to-one personal relationship with outstanding faculty members, this would not have occurred without resources from the institutions and some external funding from foundations (e.g. Lilly Endowment and the Kellogg and Mellon Foundations). It was also essential to establish a centralized administrative structure such as the CIC Panel, to facilitate faculty-student interaction.

Of course, there are those faculty members who view their roles broadly. I fear, however, that many do not have the sensitivity that minority faculty members have to the special needs of minority students. Those who are concerned may not become involved without some direction. Clearly, some faculty members who participated in SROP this past summer were "mentors" and may eventually become "sponsors," but they did not seek out the experience on their own. SROP students also had proven academic tract records. Attempts to expand the pool with more marginal students might not have been as well received.

An additional program is the CIC Minorities Fellowships Program, the largest privately supported fellowship program of its kind in the country, supported primarily by the Lilly Endowment and the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. Since its inception in the fall of 1978, some 365 Fellows have been selected to pursue doctoral study at one of the CIC universities. At least an equal number who did not receive fellowships under the CIC program were awarded financial aid from one of the CIC universities, thus in effect doubling the size of the program.

All fellowships under the CIC Minorities Fellowships Program consist of full tuition and a stipend of at least $8,500. Following two years of CIC funding, the university supports the student for an additional two years of graduate study; hence, four years of funding is guaranteed to each CIC Fellow. Graduate departments generally share in the commitment to fund CIC fellows with teaching and research assistantships. Recipients of the fellowships may attend any of the eleven

CIC universities to which they have been admitted. A single application form enables students to apply for both a fellowship and for admission to up to five of the CIC universities without an application fee. Selected faculty members from CIC institutions review applications and select CIC fellows.

Early intervention must also occur if we are to insure that minority students receive preparation at the high school level in order to pursue higher education opportunities. Students should also interact with those in academic professions early. Programs to encourage minorities to explore academic disciplines where they are underrepresented have been coordinated successfully between college and universities and high schools with the cooperation of high school counselors and administrators and university personnel (Parker, 1979).

The University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign's (UIUC) **Principal Scholar's Program (PSP)** is one successful outreach effort which targets minority students early. It was initiated by the University of Illinois College of Engineering in 1975. The program originally involved cooperative efforts with seven schools in the Chicago area. Because of PSP's success, it was moved to the campus level. The purpose of PSP is to prepare pre-college minority students for success in college and subsequent careers by providing both educational and cultural experiences. Through a cooperative effort with school personnel, program staff and parents, one major goal of PSP is to increase motivation and self confidence. Specific objectives are to:

- Increase the number of minority students completing college preparatory courses on the secondary level.
- Increase the involvement of parents in the education process to support their children's positive endeavors.
- Increase the interaction and cooperation of parents and school personnel.
- Improve the delivery system, particularly of information related to appropriate course selection, performance, career planning, and college admission.
- Provide support services as needed (tutoring, counseling, recognition awards).
- Provide supplemental educational experiences (seminars, trips, workshops, and classes, including a summer instruction program).
- Improve standardized college admissions test scores (Washington, 1987).

One major component of the program is to involve UIUC undergraduate college representatives in the effort. UIUC faculty, graduate students, and undergraduates frequently volunteer their services to PSP. Each of these programs is targeted to underrepresented minority students. They have been developed to provide financial support and appropriate academic experiences at various educational levels.

Changing the Approach

While the above programs have been successful, those faculty members and administrators involved are committed to making these efforts work. It is not always clear how to change faculty beliefs about what minority students need to have in order to be admissible to colleges and universities at either the undergraduate or graduate levels. In some instances, when students meet the more traditional standards, they are perceived to be less than adequate simply because they are visibly identified as members of racial minority groups. To counteract these tendencies by encouraging faculty to re-evaluate their narrow perceptions of quality, especially when evaluating applications of underrepresented minorities, is a monumental task. Most graduate programs, regardless of rank, are only interested in recruiting the "best and the brightest" minority students, but this is not always the case for the non-minority student. An equally negative situation occurs when a "well meaning" faculty member or graduate department supports the admission of a minority student who clearly has little if any chance of being successful, simply to "support affirmative action." We need faculty members who can sensitively evaluate applications of minority students with accurate information and with an understanding of the problems faced by many such students because of past educational and other societal inequities. Programs to facilitate faculty recruiting and student visits are methods to encourage direct interaction.

Lastly, there are at least two philosophical perspectives on how to facilitate adjustment of black, Hispanic, American Indians and other individuals from culturally diverse groups who enter a predominantly white university setting. One view supports the notion that these students must adjust totally to the environment, while the other supports the view that the institution must also take responsibility for creating a culturally plural environment. This multiculture view recognizes diverse cultures and the importance of intercultural experiences for all students. Because graduate students spend much of their time in the department, the supportive environment must extend to virtually all units of a university.

I support Professor Valverde's recommendations to faculty. If changes are to occur, faculty members must view the access of underrepresented minority students to higher education as their responsibility and must be willing to take leadership. The methods of motivating faculty are closely related to rewards and incentives. The present reward system, as noted by a colleague at a recent meeting on teacher education reform, rates teaching fourth among the three major criteria by which many faculty are evaluated, with research being rated numbers one and two. Encouraging faculty members to mentor and sponsor minority students is no easy task. Instituting appropriate procedures for providing rewards and incentives to encourage faculty to redefine their role in this regard will not be easy, but it must occur if we are to address this national problem.

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RESPONSE

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[American society has no] history of rewarding minority-group members equally for equivalent training and ability. In almost every case, the minorities have become disillusioned with the prevailing belief that the way to get ahead is through hard work and success in school. This disillusionment contributes significantly to their academic retardation and lower education attainment. (Ogbu, 1978)

. . . those who deplore low academic achievement among black children and attribute this situation to deficiencies in the will to learn fail to understand the quality of oppression and motivation in black life and culture and how the former has eaten away at the latter for 363 years. (Anderson, 1984, p. 120)

It is axiomatic that groups with power will not share their power with unfavored groups without some form of struggle. So it has been in the United States with respect to control over the power structure of graduate and professional education. (Blackwell, 1985, p. 23)

In "The Role of Graduate Faculty in Bringing Democracy to Graduate Education," Professor Valverde correctly begins by reminding us that graduate institutions are products of American society and that such products cannot be understood when viewed in isolation from the historical and cultural dynamics of that society. The quotations with which I began this presentation are intended to underscore this basic position. While our assignment is to examine the role of graduate faculty in improving the position of Blacks, Hispanics and American Indians in graduate education, we must keep before us the context in which graduate faculty operate. "An academic hierarchy, consisting of schools with various levels of ranking and prestige, represents a complex mechanism influencing the type of higher education available to various groups in American society. As such, the academic hierarchy maintains long-standing manifestations of educational inequality." (Land, 1987, p. 442) The allocation of race, ethnic, social class and gender groups within this academic hierarchy is consistent with the relative status, wealth and power of these groups in American society. While Asian Americans are an exception among racial/ethnic minorities, Blacks Hispanics and American Indians find themselves facing barriers that can be traced to the historical, cultural and social forces that have shaped their relations with white Americans for nearly four hundred years. This means that oppressed minority students usually have lower high school grades and rank than Anglo-whites and Asian Americans; they have lower scores on the Scholastic Achievement Test and the American College Test before entering college; they have lower undergraduate grades while in college; and they have lower scores on the Graduate Record Examination and professional school examinations when they apply to graduate and professional schools.

A Matter of Status

What is important for us to consider is that the graduate faculty member holds a highly valued position at the very pinnacle of the academic hierarchy. Much of the status value of this position is based on its relative exclusivity. Thus, when we ask graduate faculty to expand opportunities for low status groups and persons, we pose a serious threat to the claim of exclusivity upon which their hallowed status rests. The graduate faculty member's status is determined not only by the quality of his own research and publications, but by the prestige of the institution by which he or she is employed. Institutional prestige is based on the "quality" of applicants and students attracted to the institution. The quality of applicants and students, in turn, is determined by the prestige ratings of the students' social backgrounds and by their rankings on certain indicators of intellectual aptitude, ability, and

achievement. For graduate and professional schools as well as for individual graduate departments, prestige is determined not only by the students' scores on the GRE, MCAT, GMAT, LSAT, etc., but by undergraduate grades and, perhaps most importantly, the quality (prestige ranking) of the undergraduate degree-granting institution. Thus, there are certain self-maintaining features of the academic prestige hierarchy that are inherently discriminatory. Students who earn degrees from highly ranked undergraduate institutions are likely to attend highly ranked graduate schools, while students who graduate from lower ranked undergraduate institutions are likely to attend less prestigious graduate schools.

Students from families with lower social status and students who are members of oppressed minority groups are less likely than more advantaged students to attend prestigious undergraduate institutions, are less likely to attend graduate or professional school and, when they do attend graduate or professional school, are more likely to attend institutions with relatively low prestige rankings. The prestige rankings of the institutions from which individuals obtain doctoral degrees affect, in turn, the prestige of the institutions by which they are employed. The relative paucity of minority scholars in the doctoral programs of highly prestigious institutions partially accounts for the difficulty minority scholars encounter when they apply for faculty positions at highly prestigious institutions. Thus, the apparent vicious cycle of low representation of minorities among the student bodies of prestigious institutions leads to low representation of minority graduates attending highly prestigious graduate schools, which, in turn, leads to low representation of minority scholars among the faculties of highly prestigious graduate schools.

Significance of Minority Faculty

Blackwell's research (1981, 1983) showed that the most persistent, statistically significant predictor of enrollment and graduation of black graduate and professional students was the presence of black faculty. "In other words, those institutions that had black faculty did a far better job of recruiting, enrolling, and graduating black students than those that had few or none." (Blackwell, 1985, p. 32) In my view, the presence or absence of minority faculty members in graduate and professional schools is a relatively good informal indicator of an institution's commitment to the goal of equal opportunity for minorities in higher education. If an institution cannot recruit, employ, and promote to tenure a critical mass of minority faculty members, it is not likely that the same institution will be successful in recruiting, retaining, and graduating a significant number of minority students at either the undergraduate, graduate or professional level.

At the Department Level Professor Valverde is correct when he observes that "the United States will require a greater commitment to equity and effectiveness in its education system than has occurred in the past" if it is to provide both access and success for minority students. It is indeed true, as some of us have contended for many years, that institutions must look beyond the traditional indicators of excellence when assessing the academic potential of prospective students. However, few institutions have committed themselves to the search for alternative means of determining academic potential.

Since much of the responsibility for setting standards and determining who is qualified for admission to a graduate program is located at the department level, institutions will not be very successful in changing selection criteria unless they find ways to make innovative admissions processes profitable at the department level. This would require institutions to tie some proportion of departmental resources to the department's success in recruiting, retaining, and graduating minority students. The same general approach has been found to meet with some success in the recruitment and retention of minority faculty members. When departments find that they can make no appointments until they have employed some minimum number of minority faculty persons, the seriousness of their recruitment and employment efforts takes a great leap forward. They discover a pool that they had long claimed to be non-existent. Similar directives could be applied to research assistantships, teaching assistantships, and fellowships. Nobody gets an award until the department is able to find qualified minority applicants who are eligible for such awards. Unfortunately, this is a level of commitment that is not likely to be found at many institutions.

According to Blackwell his study revealed "that only one in eight black students had the benefits of a true mentor during graduate or professional school study." (Blackwell, 1985, p.33) The same generalization applies to an even greater extent at the undergraduate level. This is especially true for large traditionally white public institutions which enroll the majority of black, Hispanic, and American Indian students. Data from the National Study of Black College Students (Allen, 1986) reveal that black students on predominantly white campuses continue to be severely disadvantaged relative to white students in terms of persistence rates, academic achievement levels, and overall psychosocial adjustment. Of all problems faced by black students on predominantly white campuses, those arising from isolation, alienation, and lack of academic and social support systems appear to be most serious. As Professor Valverde has noted, many minority faculty have assumed or been assigned to responsibilities involving recruitment, advising, and mentoring minority students. Given the scarcity of minority faculty at both the undergraduate and graduate levels, no matter how committed these persons may be, there simply are not enough of them to meet the needs of all current and potential students. The extent to which *all faculty*, rather than minority faculty, are committed to the task of recruiting and nurturing minority talent is an indication of an institution's commitment to equality for minority students.

Institutional Characteristics

When considering the factors that affect students' progression through institutions of higher education, one can focus

on the characteristics of individual students or on the characteristics of the institutions they attend. In focusing on individual characteristics, it is typical to begin with traditional measures of aptitude or ability and measures of academic performance or achievement (typically grade point average or rank in school or college graduating class). Some studies also include measures of students' attitudes, aspirations, values, and self-perceptions. Of the attitudinal variables, the most consistently useful are the educational expectations of students and the students' academic self-confidence. However, it can be concluded from a review of studies that focus on student characteristics, that such factors typically explain a relatively small proportion of the variation in rates of progression through undergraduate, graduate or professional schools. Thus, when one notes the wide variation among institutions in their ability to recruit, retain and graduate minority students, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that institutional characteristics are likely to be more important than individual student characteristics in explaining differences in institutional success in producing minority graduates.

There is a fair amount of consistency in the literature as to what constitutes an effective program. First on my list of characteristics of institutions that have been effective in producing relatively high proportions of minority graduates is *institutional commitment.* Institutions that have programs that have been judged to be effective usually have strong recruitment programs as well as a broad range of supportive services and substantial financial aid packages. These institutions also demonstrate their commitment to minority enrollment, retention and graduation by (1) employing relatively large numbers of minority faculty members; (2) supporting minority student organizations and involving them in decisions about recruitment, retention, and support services; (3) establishing and providing adequate support for a minority affairs office; and (4) developing and supporting a systematic university affirmative action program.

Institutional commitment requires strong support from the president and other high-level administrators. This support should be visible and consistent. Institutional commitment is expressed in public statements, and in communications with the minority communities and the schools that serve them. It is also expressed in the organizational structure by the physical location of the minority affairs office and its place in the organizational structure (to whom does the director report?). Other aspects of institutional commitment include a positive racial environment, the presence of minority faculty, and a critical mass of minority students. The extent to which efforts to provide access and success to minority students are *consistent throughout the institution* is also important. Is the recruitment, retention, and graduation of minority students an integral goal of the university that is made apparent in all of its pronouncements as well as in its normal operating procedures? If the institution is constantly debating the need for such a program, you may be sure that the commitment is weak. The quality of a university's effort is reflected in the amount of support it receives from the highest administrative levels of the institution, in the range of approaches used to attain the goals and the diversity of services provided to students.

Financial aid is essential to both recruitment and retention. Without an adequate financial aid package most minority applicants cannot afford the cost of graduate education. The availability of research assistantships and teaching assistantships is especially important. It is through exposure to and interaction with faculty in regular work roles (apprentice-like situations) that graduate students acquire a sense of the profession and its requirements. It is also through such relationships that mentorships are formed and professors come to know students well enough to assess their talents in a practical performance-based setting that is independent of grades and test scores. Availability of postdoctoral fellowships is also extremely important in most graduate departments. Such fellowships encourage young scholars to refine their research skills and produce early publications that will qualify them for positions at major research universities. They also provide additional opportunities for mentoring relationships to develop and for faculty members to become sponsors of minority students.

In general, the list of "Strategies to Increase Participation of Blacks/Hispanics in Higher Education" included in the Appendix of Professor Valverde's paper is excellent. It reflects the collected wisdom of both researchers and practitioners and provides a good basis upon which to build or revise a program to enhance minority participation in graduate education. While individuals may wish to reorder the list based on their own priorities, there are no significant omissions from the list. However, some more general types of recommendations can be made that have implications for the nation as well as for the oppressed minority groups.

National Agenda

First, we would do well to pay attention to Hodgkinson's (1985) concerns about *demographic changes* that will have a serious impact on undergraduate education in the next two decades. He points out that higher education institutions will find that the nation's schools will be filled with children who are poorer than in the past, more ethnically and linguistically diverse, and who have handicaps that will affect their learning. "Most important, by the year 2000, America will be a nation in which one of every **three** of us will be non-white. And minorities will cover a broader socioeconomic spectrum range than ever before, making a simplistic treatment of their needs even less useful." (Hodgkinson, 1985, p.7) This also means that institutions will be required to make significant changes in their recruitment processes and seek more nontraditional means of determining student qualifications if they are to maintain enrollments in a nation in which the middle-class white population that has been their traditional constituency is consistently becoming an ever small proportion of the applicant pool. The challenge to institutions is to adapt to

the needs of the new constituency while providing high quality education for all students.

Second, there is a need for an increase in the national commitment to *both equality and excellence* in higher education. This means a revitalization of education programs for all students, but especially, the implementation of high quality preschool programs, elementary school and high school programs. One of the major problems facing those of us who are concerned about the minority presence in higher education is the size and quality of the potential pool of applicants. Careful attention to raising performance levels, reducing dropouts, and raising educational aspirations is needed. In addition, the provision of adequate financial aid to all aspiring students is an essential key to the success of all other efforts to increase minority presence in undergraduate, graduate and professional education.

A third area that should be given careful attention is that of *enhancing minority students' test performance* both in the classroom and on standardized tests. Gardner (1987) has noted that in our society "we have put linguistic and logical-mathematical intelligences, figuratively speaking, on a pedestal. Much of our testing is based on this high valuation of verbal and [logical-]mathematical skills." Two brief examples will be serve. First, Lewis Kleinsmith and Jerome Johnston at the University of Michigan have developed a computer-based approach to helping introductory students understand biological concepts. They found that minority students who used the Computer-Based Study Center scored as well as white students on course examinations. Second, Henry Frierson of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill has demonstrated the effectiveness of an intervention procedure that included: 1) instruction related to a general and systematic approach to effective test-taking; 2) the opportunity to practice the suggested approaches on trial tests: 3) the use of trial tests that contained items which were relevant to the materials the students were studying; 4) promoting the use of trial tests as self-assessment measures; and 5) regular and cooperative participation in learning teams to either review course materials or to prepare for upcoming examinations. Students who participated in the program showed significant improvement on state and national licensing tests in nursing and medicine.

Finally, returning to the role of graduate faculty, universities can appeal to their humanitarian impulses by asking them to be more alert for opportunities to serve as identifiers of minority talent, to make special efforts to assure that minority students are treated fairly and given opportunities to grow and develop in an atmosphere that is free of racism and other forms of chauvinism, and to seek opportunities to serve as advisors, mentors and sponsors of minority students. However, appeals to altruistic values work best when they are accompanied by rewards and sanctions. Perhaps reduced teaching loads, sabbaticals, or research funds might be used to reward professors who exhibit unusual acumen in working with minority students. As a general rule, it would enhance the talent identification function of graduate faculty if all members of the graduate faculty were required to teach at least one upper-level undergraduate seminar in their area of expertise each academic year.

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RESPONSE

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Professor Valverde's paper provides us with an excellent and convincing rationale for specific program efforts to increase the entry, retention, and completion of Blacks, Hispanics, and Native Americans in graduate education. He also offers us highly specific suggestions about the elements that should be part of such programs.

His central point is clear: That many of the "quick fix" programs for separate minority admissions programs, even though they have been successful in the past, will not continue to work. Such programs need to be greatly augmented by programs which render minority admissions and retention an integral part of the graduate education process, rather than merely a stepchild to it. In order to reach this goal, at least two things must happen:

1. Minorities must be recruited at earlier points in the pipeline than has customarily been the case, such as early in the undergraduate career rather than at the point of application to graduate school (which is of course too late for many, such as minority non-applicants who might otherwise have been encouraged to apply). This is indeed the nature of "early outreach."
2. The criteria for evaluating minorities, at both the application stage and the stages of progress through graduate school, need to be conceptually re-examined and re-defined.

Professor Valverde's discussion of standardization is very much to the point. Further, white faculty tend to ignore and minimize the cultural and experiential differences between white and minority students who are admitted. The traditional use of standardization minimizes diversity by excluding talented people. Both, in turn, encourage ethnocentrism, while at the same time discouraging ethnic pluralism.

The Case of the GRE

A case in point regarding standardization and its possible effect on the entry (and retention as well) of minorities in graduate education is the use of Graduate Record Examination (GRE) test scores in admission as well as (in some cases) retention decisions. The lack of predictive validity for minorities is often underplayed in the literature as well as by many admissions committees and graduate school administrators. The situation is presently as follows:

1. Blacks, Hispanics, and Native Americans consistently score significantly lower on the GRE verbal, quantitative, and advanced sections than do Whites. This result is by itself not necessarily evidence of test bias against minorities, although it certainly is evidence that these tests can have adverse impact upon minorities depending upon how test scores are interpreted and used by admissions people and administrators. But what is evidence of test bias is the following:
2. While the prediction of graduate school grades from GRE scores for whites versus minorities (Hispanic and Black) is the same in some studies but different in others, it is also true that when a study shows differential prediction, it is generally the case that the magnitude of the prediction (as indicated by slope and/or correlation) is less for the minority sample. This is evidence of test bias—an unfortunate product of the push for standardization.
3. It might also be pointed out that while there is some evidence that coaching has some effect (sometimes only a small one) on score gain for the SAT, there is less evidence that pertains to the question of the coachability of the GRE, and absolutely no evidence at all of which I am aware that investigates the question of differential coachability—the question of whether or not minorities will gain more, less, or about the same as Whites from well-conducted GRE coaching seminars and workshops. This failure to explore more of the variables involved also seems to me to be an unwelcome result of the push for standardization.
4. Finally, all of us are prone to forget the following basic and highly consistent finding: That even for white populations, the correlation of GRE scores (both verbal and quantitative) with graduate school grades is only moderate at best. Recent studies have consistently shown that such validity correlations range from a high of only .40 (in Engineering and Chemistry, using quantitative score as the predictor) down to .15 (in, for example, Biology, Psychology, Education, and English). In general, such GRE-to-grade predictions are modest and only as good as—often less good than—the prediction of graduate school grades from undergraduate grade point average. And using the combination of the two is only a slightly better predictor than either one alone.

Alternative Criteria

Clearly, the question of the use of alternative criteria, either instead of or in addition to the GRE, needs to be raised, as it has been raised by Prof. Valverde. But an additional point that might be made in this discussion concerns a recently-released finding from an interesting study done by a group of ETS researchers: Using the SAT, it is possible to construct a test so as to lessen the mean difference in scores of Blacks and Whites, by including more items that show no difference and fewer items that show a large difference, but at the same time *not* enable the test-taker to ascertain which is which. In other words, it is not possible to tell, by content of the item, which item gives Whites the advantage and which shows no difference. In the study, even a panel of test construction experts were unable to specify which item was which; that is, it was shown that it is indeed possible to construct such a test, and that neither the expert panel nor a test-taker could distinguish discriminating from nondiscriminating

items. But this has been done before. What is unique about the new study is this: A number of the items so used could be constructed so as to retain the same desirable pyschometric (validity) properties as do the other items on the test, namely, a) the same overall degree of difficulty as other test items, and b) the same item-to-total score correlation as other test items. In other words, it is indeed possible to construct a test (in this case the SAT) which minimizes the black-white difference while at the same time meeting the same psychometric standards of validity as the usual tests.

What remains is to see whether or not this kind of alternative test construction will work on the GRE. Furthermore, the question of white versus Hispanic mean differences, and whether or not such mean differences can be manipulated via test construction in the same way, needs to be investigated. Finally, whether or not ETS will ever actually implement such a policy of direct impact manipulation of test construction is an entirely open question. Clearly, issues would arise concerning just whose scores should be directly manipulated. For example, should quantitative score differences between men and women be so adjusted? What about quantitative differences between Asians and Whites—where Asians are now getting higher quantitative (but not verbal) scores than Whites?

A major strength in Prof. Valverde's presentation is his offering of a point-by-point list of concrete strategies for increasing the participation and success of minorities in graduate education, involving, for example, recruitment efforts at junior colleges and community colleges; improved financial aid packages; contact with high schools; use of an optional alternative admissions testing instrument; academic support programs and skill centers; workshops for courses in writing, computer skills, and statistics; and many other such useful suggestions.

ASA Minority Fellowship Program

For a number of years now, the American Sociological Association has carried out a Minority Fellowship Program for students admitted to graduate sociology departments. The program provides tuition and stipend. However, a proposal is presently being completed which outlines in some detail a program which goes beyond this and provides for setting up a series of programmatic strategies for accomplishing the following:

a) Recruiting and attracting students in their Junior year to this outreach program. The program is discipline-specific; that is, it is intended to increase the number of black, Hispanic, and Native American students who apply to graduate school in a particular discipline (in this case, Sociology). We suggest that such discipline-specific programs need to be developed. (There presently exist similar programs in economics; political science; public affairs; and several other fields.)
b) In addition to the above for those who are Juniors, the program contains two additional components; namely, a predoctoral program of financial aid, mentoring, support services, skills seminars, research methods seminars, job-getting strategies, and other components, all designed to increase minority student retention in graduate school, and postdoctoral component, the purpose of which is to provide a head start in research and professional publication.

We feel that this particular program is comprehensive, far-reaching and will be lasting in its effects. It is explicitly oriented toward the goals of outreach recruiting, training, supporting, and retaining Blacks, Hispanics, and Native Americans in one field of graduate education. The present plan is to implement the program at several pilot locations (graduate institutions). We will offer it as a model program for adoption in other fields as well.

Evaluation

It should be mentioned that this program contains a methodology for the *evaluation* of the success of the program.

By means of a longitudinal design, students are traced from their entry into the program so that their progress or lack of progress can be monitored and measured at various points; namely, application or nonapplication to graduate school, enrollment or nonenrollment, retention or nonretention (what year), and degree completion or noncompletion. The correlates ("reasons") are also assessed. Furthermore, we have designed a professional development index to assess the extent to which the student has been appropriately mentored, engaged in a range of professional activities, and had informal contacts with faculty and to gauge his/her ratings of overall satisfaction with the program.

All this is to highlight the following point: That excellent programs such as those proposed by Prof. Valverde need to have attached to them a detailed methodology for evaluation, preferably longitudinal evaluation, of the implementation and the success, of the program itself. It appears that while many are currently engaged in setting up detailed programs, there may be a lack of specified means and methods for evaluating the success of those programs. This paper is an encouragement to be specific about evaluation.

WORK GROUP I REPORT

Moderated and authored by

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ISSUE I

In what ways can faculty develop more sophisticated procedures to ferret out talent and potential in the graduate admissions process, and in what ways can they contribute to the development of talent in the earlier stages of schooling to enlarge the pool of minority students eligible for graduate admission.

"Nothing Beats Individual Faculty Interest and Time"

Introduction

We are concerned to improve the chances of African American, American Indians and Latino scholars for successful accomplishment in the academy and, in so doing, to increase access for those who have been historically excluded.

These goals raise important questions: At what level should preparation for graduate school begin? And, when the time comes for students' preparation to be judged for admission to graduate school, are the criteria faculty use to evaluate that preparation fair, appropriate? What about another kind of preparedness for graduate study, a prior awareness among ethnic minority undergraduates and their families of the opportunities and rewards of a scholarly career? And if the answers to these questions suggest that changes are necessary in existing institutional practice, how can desirable changes be made, considering present fiscal, political and structural contexts?

To assist us in coming to grips with the issues, we have formulated seven sub-questions, related to those in the previous paragraph, and have proposed activities responding to each one. Most of what needs to be done is already well understood by those who are concerned to bring more African Americans, American Indians and Latinos into scholarly work. The tasks are

- to present cogently the information at issue;
- to work diligently for action by all who must help;
- to advocate effectively; and
- to press unflaggingly for change.

Question 1: How can faculty persuade the university to change its focus?

Faculties have great influence on the form and image of institutions. Not only are institutions nationally recognized by the strengths and weaknesses of their faculties, but internal practice generally gives faculty the control over academic matters, particularly at the graduate level. It is with these facts in mind that the group discussed improving the recruitment and admission of potential minority scholars.

Since the graduate recruitment and admissions process is controlled by the faculty, it is they who must be marshalled for successful change. Change can begin with one or two faculty members who articulate the needs to the rest. Boards of regents and trustees, presidents, vice presidents, provosts, deans and chairs can all be influenced to work simultaneously on proposed change. Whether the proposal for change comes from top administrators or from the ranks of the faculty seems to us immaterial. What is important is that only with the involvement of faculty is it possible to focus both on academic quality and on the need to expand the reach and the offerings of the academy to more and more diverse segments of the society. There is a role and a responsibility for every faculty member in this effort.

Most faculty can identify where bottlenecks to expanding minority admissions occur at their institutions, but they may not know how they can help solve the problems. Their resolution to do so may require taking risks, breaking away from locally-accepted methods of doing things. A clear example, cited by the group, is the way objective test scores are used as departmental admissions criteria. Faculty should question the preeminent role of GRE scores in the admissions process and incorporate other indicators of potential into the selection process. Misuse of test scores deny many able students entry into graduate study. Expansion of criteria for admission and the decision to work against the tyranny of test scores are clearly within the purview of the faculty.

Actions:

- Focus attention on the changing national and state demographics.
- Demonstrate the university's self-interest in serving a broader population.
- Point out the critical nature of the situation at national, regional and institutional levels.
- Publicize the institution's record on admission and retention of minority students.
- Generate data showing the percent of undergraduates by department/discipline and by ethnicity who go on to graduate work.
- Identify institutional impediments such as misuse of objective test scores and work to remove them.
- Encourage administrators to follow through on promises.
- Sensitize colleagues to the problem and possible solutions.

Question 2: How can faculty motivate potential students?

Motivating students to enter the academy is critical to increasing minority presence in graduate education. The group agreed on the key role that faculty members play in this process. Nothing beats individual faculty interest and time. Encouraging students to pursue further study begins with faculty interest in student performance in classes. Firsthand exposure to a scholar/researcher in pursuit of knowledge also introduces a student to the values and rewards of the scholarly career.

Actions:

- Press funders and grantmakers to make more money available for attracting students to the academy.
- Identify faculty to become graduate-study models/mentors for high school and college students.
- Work with disciplinary associations to interest students in scholarly careers in those disciplines; e.g., contests, awards and prizes, lecture series.
- Develop more informal interaction between minority faculty and key constituencies off campus.
- Design programs to increase minority faculty presence in the public schools.
- Develop career information in many media to show students, beginning in elementary school, the value and challenges of a scholar's life.
- Advocate for financial incentives to make scholarly careers more attractive (e.g., loan forgiveness for college teachers).

Question 3: How can faculty help produce well-prepared students, and more of them?

It is not enough to try to induce more of the current pool of undergraduate minority students with relatively strong academic backgrounds to seek opportunities as scholars. We also need ways to bring more young people to competitive academic levels in our public schools and undergraduate colleges, first by ensuring that they stay in school and then by insisting that their training be of the very highest quality. Graduate faculty can work with faculty of graduate schools of education, as well as directly with elementary and secondary schools, to help set high standards and raise the educational aspirations of teachers and their students.

Actions:

- Involve more undergraduates in graduate research projects.
- Use seminars to teach undergraduates.
- Bring more high school students to campuses for exposure to scholarly work and an intellectual environment.
- Provide more opportunities in the university for professional development of public school teachers.
- Develop bridge programs between high-school senior and freshman years and between college and graduate school.
- Provide opportunities for undergraduates to experience the culture of graduate school and of the appropriate departments (disciplines). Undergraduate and graduate faculties share this responsibility.
- Emphasize high quality in teaching and learning at all levels.
- Provide more opportunity for undergraduates to do advanced work such as writing and presenting papers, conducting research projects, taking comprehensive examinations.
- Require more graduate faculty involvement in the training and guidance of teaching assistants and research assistants.
- Increase the amount of formal and informal interaction of graduate faculty with undergraduate students.

Question 4: How can faculty assist in recruiting students to the academy?

We are noticing a shift away from direct faculty involvement in seeking out potential scholars from among minority students. In part this is because institutions, in their positive commitment to reaching more of these students, have put in place separate, centralized approaches to their recruitment. But these positive efforts of the university should reinforce, not replace, what faculty must do. Enhanced university efforts do not release faculty members from their obligation to discover and develop talent, especially talent which is not conventionally manifested.

Actions:

- Use influence within department, university or discipline to direct academic monies to recruit and support target populations.
- Use alumni networks to generate names and referrals.
- Provisionally admit students with capacity who need extra assistance.
- Involve more faculty directly in recruiting.
- Pay more attention to individual differences in preparation, with sensitive diagnosis and course placement, but with full admission from the beginning.
- Give more importance to the whole student in the application process.
- Expand the reach of the university to include those working in industry, government and teaching.
- Define the faculty role to include graduate recruitment activities.

Question 5: How can faculty identify potential scholars? How early?

Early identification of students is a way to foster interest in graduate school and encourage participation. The earlier the process begins, the more likely the prospects for success. Programs to improve the efficiency of the academic pipeline from kindergarten through graduate school are necessary. The faculty role extends from providing opportunities in their laboratories for young university students, throughout the year, to inviting high school students to visit the campus and working

with parents to help them better advise their children.

Action:

- Motivate and facilitate involvement of faculty in opening up opportunities for African American, American Indian and Latino students to participate in the full range of disciplines and graduate programs.
- Get more young people into laboratories, and other scholarly environments, with graduate faculty.
- Help create centers that enhance the development of academic skills—language, both spoken and written, critical response and analysis, the processes and products of research.
- Help parents understand and support higher education options for their children.
- Help elementary and secondary school students appreciate the value and possibilities of scholarly training.
- Work with parents and with teachers in early planning for children's educational futures.

Question 6: How can faculty develop supporting networks?

Academic systems are sustained by networks of faculty who recommend potential students and faculty to each other. African Americans, American Indians and Latinos need more participation in existing networks, or need to establish their own. Institutions seeking to increase minority participation can establish, expand and use networks with other institutions, disciplinary associations and faculty members.

Actions

- Create partnerships among institutions—formal or informal—for student and faculty exchanges.
- Develop visiting scholars programs.
- Improve articulation between masters and doctoral programs at different institutions.
- Include alumni in departmental networks.

Question 7: How can faculty help identify talent in unusual places?

Many academically talented college graduates are outside the places where conventional faculty or institutional recruiters would look for them. This may be especially true for African Americans, American Indians and Latinos, groups who are historically underrepresented in post-graduate education and the scholarly enterprise.

Action:

- Recruit doctoral students from terminal masters programs.
- Reach out to working professions in the military and the staffs of non-profit agencies and institutions.
- Locate and recruit dropouts of doctoral programs who might be induced to return, including ABD's.
- Provide opportunity for returning scholars, especially women.
- Recruit community college staff into graduate programs and community college students into the pipeline.

ISSUE 2

Mentoring

What is the mentor's role, and how can faculty play that role effectively to increase the success rate of African American, American Indian and Latino scholars-in-the-making?

Some assumptions

A significant majority of university faculty cite the influence of a mentor as a primary factor in their decision to enter a particular field or to pursue a particular line of research.

From a study: minority students tended to report less time with a faculty advisor than non-minority students, and this lack of "quality time" is implicated in their belief that they will take longer to finish their programs than will non-minority students.

Were faculty to become more intensively involved in the careers of minority students and in the completion of their degree work, the pool of minority scholars would undoubtedly increase.

Mentors provide, among other things, motivation, guidance, identification, time, attention.

Some initial questions

What are characteristics of faculty-to-student interactions in departments, at research universities, that inhibit the formation of mentor relationships between minority students and faculty members?

Is it essentially the responsibility of faculty members to provide students with adequate time and attention? What strategies can minority students employ to ensure that they are not ignored?

What programs have successfully increased the involvement of faculty in the academic careers of minority graduate students? How have the programs achieved the faculty involvement?

What are the "traditional" ingredients of mentoring or advising of graduate students? What are the benefits, and what are the possible abuses, of these relationships? What are the formal and the informal faculty and peer relationships and arrangements that are significant in the training of graduate students?

How do these processes contribute to the success of graduate students, and how do successful graduate students use them?

Can you suggest :

- actions which would allow minority graduate students to benefit more fully from both formal and informal processes in the teaching and training of graduate students? What are pitfalls to avoid?
- measurable outcomes of such actions which could serve as a basis for evaluating and improving the processes?
- ways to increase the informal contact between faculty and minority scholars-in-training?
- strategies that academic institutions and departments can employ to increase the involvement of faculty in mentoring of minority students?

The foregoing statements and questions are based on work of the National Advisory Council in preparation for the Conference.

FACULTY ROLES IN MENTORING MINORITY STUDENTS

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Introduction

At the same time that researchers are predicting the need for huge numbers of faculty to replace those persons retiring between 1990 and the year 2000, others are calling attention to what is essentially a crisis in the supply of minorities for faculty positions in America's colleges and universities (Bowen and Schuster, 1985; Blackwell, 1987; Pruitt, 1987; and Reed, 1986). That crisis has been precipitated by the failure of many minority group students to move beyond critical transition points to succeeding levels in the educational pipeline. One important consequence of that situation is the diminishing supply of minorities actually trained for faculty positions. Significantly, their attrition at crucial transition points is not always of their own choosing nor a matter of personal culpability. Much of the failure can be attributed to defects in the educational system and in economic institutions supporting that system.

Although Blacks, Latinos and Native Americans share a great deal in common with respect to experiences in higher education, they also differ in their movement beyond transition points in the educational pipeline and their access to employment in higher education. None of the three groups, however, has attained parity with whites, whether in access to higher education or in employment as college and/or university professors. This point may be briefly illustrated by undergraduate and graduate enrollment data.

At the undergraduate level, it is paradoxical that more Blacks are graduating from high school than ever before, yet they continually experience enormous difficulties in matriculating in college (Arbiter, 1987). For instance, black college enrollment declined by 10.8 percent between 1980 and 1984 and by 3.9 percent between 1976 and 1984. During the same period, Hispanic undergraduate enrollment increased slightly between 1980-1984, and by 23.4 percent between 1976-1984. By contrast, Native American undergraduate enrollment declined by 6.8 percent between 1980-84 but showed a net gain of 4.5 percent during the period 1976-1984.

As of Fall 1984, 830,986 Blacks, 399,333 Hispanics, and 64,051 Native Americans were enrolled in undergraduate programs throughout the United States. (The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1987).

At the graduate level, reports indicate a similar pattern; that is, while Blacks registered a net 22.4 loss of graduate students (falling from 65,338 in 1976 to 50,717 in 1984), experiences of Latinos and Native Americans were different. On the one hand, Hispanics/Latinos showed a net gain of 14.4 percent graduate student enrollment (or an actual increase from 20,234 to 23,144 students), while Native Americans, on the other hand, registered a 9.8 percent loss of its graduate students. Specifically, the enrollment for Native American students declined from 3,880 to 3,501 between 1976 and 1984 (Blackwell, 1987; and the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1987).

Any analysis of minority group student experiences in higher education must take into account commonalities as well as differences among the groups analyzed. This paper will address issues related to the mentoring roles of faculty and provide data to underscore the paucity of minorities in faculty positions and shortage of those who may be able to fulfill mentoring functions. Some attention is also given to intervention strategies utilized for increasing the presence of minorities in faculty positions as well as for implementing mentoring roles.

It should be apparent that minority students will have greater options in the selection of a mentor or of being chosen as a protege if college and university officials increase the number of minorities employed in faculty positions. It is erroneous to assume that simply by virtue of racial or ethnic identity as a member of a minority group, a faculty member is either more interested or better prepared to fulfill mentoring functions.

Special attention will be devoted to a broad spectrum of activities that describe the mentoring process, characteristics of mentors, functions and pitfalls of mentoring.

Implications of Doctorate Production for Minority Faculty

It is axiomatic that if institutions do not enroll and graduate them, minorities will not be hired for faculty positions. A

*Latino and Hispanics will be used interchangeably. As dictated by data sets, sub-group disaggregation will sometimes occur.

TABLE 1

Total Doctorates Earned by U.S. Citizens by Race and Ethnicity, 1977—1986

Race/Ethnicity	Years 1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Total U.S. Citizens	25,008	23,767	23,947	23,970	24,006	23,785	23,704	23,394	22,717	22,984
American Indian	65 0.3 *	60 0.3	81 0.3	75 0.3	85 0.4	77 0.3	80 0.3	73 0.3	93 0.4	100 0.4
Asian	339 1.4 *	390 1.6	428 1.8	458 1.9	465 1.9	452 1.9	492 2.1	512 2.2	515 2.3	527 2.3
Black	1,116 4.5 *	1,033 4.3	1,056 4.4	1,032 4.3	1,013 4.2	1,047 4.4	921 3.9	953 4.1	909 4.0	820 3.5
Hispanic	423 1.7 *	473 2.0	462 1.9	412 1.7	464 1.9	535 2.2	538 2.3	535 2.3	559 2.5	554 2.4
White	23,065 92.2 *	21,811 91.8	21,920 91.5	21,920 91.8	21,993 91.6	21,979 91.1	21,674 91.4	21,321 91.1	20,641 30.6	22,538 89.3

Source: National Research Council, *Summary Report 1985. Doctorate Recipients From United States Universities*, p. 13; and Susan Coyle for Unpublished 1986 data.

** Percent of total U.S. citizenship of all doctorates reporting racial/ethnic status.*

considerable body of evidence has been amassed to substantiate the fact that minorities are perilously underrepresented in graduate schools and in faculty positions (Arce & Manning, 1984; Blackwell, 1987; Evans, 1987; Harvey, 1985; Marcias & Magallan, 1987; Pruitt, 1987; and the Tomas Rivera Center, 1987). The gravity or enormity of this underrepresentation emerges from an analysis of data on doctoral degree attainment and post-graduate plans of Blacks, Latinos, and Native Americans.

As displayed in Table 1 over the past ten years, Whites have comprised approximately 90 percent of all doctoral degree recipients among American citizens. Clearly, minorities are not receiving a representative proportion of doctorates awarded American citizens. The problem is worsening more for some groups than it is for others; moreover, no minority group has attained a sufficient level of doctoral degree attainment to be sanguine. During the ten-year period, 1977-1986, while the absolute number of Native Americans who received the doctorate increased from 65 to 100, and their percent of the total degrees earned by Americans role slightly from 0.3 to 0.4 percent, still, in 1986 only 100 Native Americans were awarded the doctoral degree. The Hispanic production rose from 423 in 1977 to 554 in 1986.

Blacks, on the other hand, experienced a drastic reduction in the number of doctorates earned during that period. Beginning in 1978, the absolute number of Blacks with doctorates systematically dropped almost every year so that by 1986, only 820 black citizens were recipients of the doctoral degree. As a result of this severe downturn, Blacks constituted only 3.5 percent of the total number of doctorates awarded U.S. citizens. Hispanics comprised 2.4 percent and Native Americans accounted for 0.4 percent of that total number. In the meantime, the white monopoly on doctorates persists although Asians continue to make significant inroads both in absolute numbers and in the percent of doctorate awards.

Despite the Asian-Americans' relative success, minority groups are not receiving the doctorate at the level either expected or anticipated after the promulgation of affirmative action programs in higher education since 1972.

Equally severe as their overall underrepresentation among doctoral degree recipients is the problem of mal-distribution.

Related to that problem is the virtual absence of some minority groups from certain fields of academic specialization. These issues achieve a special urgency when Table 2 is examined.

While our graduate schools are not producing sufficient numbers of minorities in any field, minority graduate students tend to concentrate in a few fields of study almost to the exclusion of other areas of specialization. For example, Blacks, Native Americans, Puerto Ricans and Mexican Americans tend to be concentrated in education, social sciences, and psychology. They are less inclined to pursue doctoral degrees in the physical sciences, engineering, and health/medical sciences. By contrast, the Asian minority is substantially more likely to

TABLE 2

Doctoral Degrees Awarded U.S. Citizens by Field, Race/Ethnicity, 1986

Fields	Total U.S. Citizen	Amer. Indian	Asian	Black	White	Puerto Rican	Mex. Amer.	Other Hispanic
All Fields	22,894	100	527	820	20,538	137	182	248
Physical Science	3,003	8	107	25	2,714	15	15	23
Mathematics	367	1	14	5	327	3	3	3
Computer Sci.	203	0	12	1	176	2	0	2
Physics	692	0	19	7	633	4	2	5
Chemistry	1,319	5	56	13	1,180	5	10	9
Earth/Envir. Sci.	422	2	6	0	398	1	0	4
Engineering	1,379	6	80	14	1,224	11	5	9
Life Sciences	4,342	24	152	64	3,958	20	14	38
Bio. Sci.	3,119	18	124	40	2,835	13	9	31
Agri. Sci.	657	0	14	7	616	4	2	2
Health/Med. Sci.	566	6	14	17	507	4	3	5
Social Sci. & Psych.	4,548	20	69	163	4,080	27	23	60
Humanities	2,728	7	30	70	2,496	14	20	42
Languages & Lit.	896	2	11	16	805	9	11	24
Professional Fields	1,373	9	31	53	1,230	5	6	12
Education	5,595	26	58	421	4,820	45	79	64
Teaching Fields	934	2	6	58	835	8	3	9
Other, Unspecified	16	0	0	1	15	0	0	0

Source: Susan Coyle and Yupin Bea, National Research Council; unpublished data.

complete doctorates in the physical sciences, engineering and the life sciences and less inclined to pursue the doctorate in education, languages and literature, the social sciences and psychology, and the humanities.

A further examination of Table 2 reveals a pattern in 1986 that is similar to those shown in earlier years (Blackwell, 1987; and the National Research Council, 1985). For example, in 1986, only one American Indian, five Blacks, three Puerto Ricans, three Mexican Americans, and three "other Hispanics" received a doctorate in mathematics. No Puerto Ricans were awarded the doctorate in computer science. Coincidentally, there is an increasing need for persons trained in these fields to meet the demand of America's high-technology society. Similar problems are observed in physics and astronomy, chemistry, and earth/environmental sciences.

It is instructive to examine discipline selection by Black and Hispanic doctoral candidates for the years 1975 and 1985 to illuminate the larger issue of maldistribution. While some movement across disciplines has occurred, consistency of fields of choice remains relatively stable. In 1975, 61.0 percent of all black doctoral degree recipients and 30.4 percent of Hispanic doctoral degree recipients were awarded degrees in education. By 1985, the percent for education doctorates had dropped to 52.3 for Blacks but had risen to 32.2 percent for Hispanics. In 1975, 4.1 percent of all doctorates earned by Blacks and 8. 9 percent of those earned by Hispanics were in the physical sciences. By 1985, 3.3 percent of Black Americans and 7.5 percent Hispanic Americans were awarded doctorates in that area. While Blacks registered a slight increase, (i.e. from 1.1 to 2.1%) in doctorates awarded in Engineering during that period, Hispanics experienced a significant downturn, falling from 5.0 percent to 2.9 percent of their total doctorates earned (National Research Council, 1985).

Blacks registered increases in the percent completing doctorates in life sciences (from 5.6 to 7.7%): social sciences and psychology (15.3 to 19.1%), and professional fields (from 4.2 to 8.1%) between 1975 and 1985. The percent having selected the humanities fell from 8. 7% in 1975 to 7.3% in 1985 for Blacks

(Blackwell, 1987; the National Research Council, 1987). By

TABLE 3

Post-Doctoral Degree Employment Plans by Minority Status and Gender; 1975 and 1985.

	Academe		Industry		Government		Other	
	1975	1985	1975	1985	1975	1985	1975	1985
Total U.S. Citizens	60.6	48.1	11.5	19.4	13.1	12.1	14.8	20.4
Men	57.8	45.4	13.5	23.7	14.3	12.5	14.5	18.3
Women	70.9	52.5	4.6	12.5	8.7	11.3	15.8	23.7
Asian	50.7	39.9	23.3	37.2	16.0	12.1	10.0	10.8
Men	48.0	37.2	28.0	43.9	15.2	9.5	8.8	9.5
Women	64.0	45.3	0.0	24.0	20.0	17.3	16.0	13.3
Black	67.6	49.6	2.5	6.0	11.9	13.9	18.0	30.4
Men	66.6	42.2	3.4	9.2	11.7	19.7	18.3	28.9
Women	69.4	54.6	0.9	4.0	12.2	10.1	17.6	31.4
Hispanic	70.7	56.7	10.6	11.4	8.1	11.1	10.6	20.8
Men	70.7	55.6	11.0	14.8	7.3	8.6	11.0	21.0
Women	70.6	57.9	8.8	7.6	11.8	13.8	8.8	20.7
White	60.3	48.0	11.8	19.9	13.2	12.0	14.7	20.1
Men	57.4	45.5	13.7	23.9	14.5	12.5	14.4	18.1
Women	71.1	52.2	4.9	13.2	8.3	11.2	15.7	23.4

Source: National Research Council, Survey of Doctorate Recipients, 1985.

contrast, Hispanics completed a greater share of doctorates in life sciences (from 12.9 to 13.4%); social sciences (from 18.5% to 21.6%), and the professional fields (3.3% to 5.2%) between 1975 and 1985. Like Blacks, Hispanics decreased their percent completing a doctorate in the humanities from 21.7% to 17. 2% of their total number of doctoral degrees they earned (National Research Council, 1985).

Employment of Minority Group Doctoral Degree Holders

The representation of Blacks, Latinos and American Indians in faculty positions is complicated by a number of interrelated factors. First, there is the issue of an available pool from which minorities may be selected for faculty positions. The data presented in the previous section call attention to the magnitude of the talent pool problem. Second, related to this problem, is the fact that minorities are not being aggressively recruited for graduate school and for the pursuit of the doctoral degree. And this is despite their persistent underrepresentation and the presumed demand for diversity in the student body as well as in the college or university faculty and in the National labor force. Third, especially within the past six years, affirmative action in higher education has not had the high priority envisioned in 1972, which served to increase the absolute number of American Indians, Blacks and Hispanics in faculty positions during the 1970's (Blackwell, 1987; Exxum, 1983; Exxum, 1986; and Reed, 1983, 1986). Fourth, institutional commitment to diversity and equality of opportunity appears to have all but disappeared in many American colleges and universities.

As a result of such factors and related experiences of members of minority groups, a significant majority of minority doctoral degree recipients no longer find employment in academe as attractive as they did in the 1970's. As displayed in Table 3, in 1975, more than two-thirds (67.6 percent) of all newly-minted black doctoral degree holders were committed to academe as a place of employment. By 1985, that proportion had dropped to 49.6 percent. The change for Hispanics was substantially greater during that period. In 1975, 70.7 percent of all Hispanic doctorates planned a career in academe, but in 1985, only 56.7 percent were interested in jobs in the academic workplace.

Black males in 1985 planned post-doctoral careers in industry (9.2%); government (19.7%) and "other areas" (28.9%). back women, while continuing to select academic positions as the first choice, were less interested in academic j obs than they had been in 1975, and more were now selecting industry or "other" areas. Both Hispanic men and women still selected academe as the place of first choice for employment. Both Hispanic men and women still selected academe as their first choice for employment. However, Hispanic women and men were considerably more committed to employment in industry (men), government and "other" in 1985 than was the case in 1975 (Table 3.)

These changes in occupational commitments may reflect improvements in employment opportunity outside the aca-

TABLE 4

Faculty Employed in Colleges and Universities by Race, Sex; Years 1975, 1983.

Categories	1975 Number	1975 Percent *	1983 Number	1983 Percent *
Total	446,830	100.0	485,739	100.0
Male	336,362	75.3	356,579	73.4
Female	110,468	24.7	129,160	26.6
White	409,947	91.7 **	440,505	90.7 **
Male	312,293	76.1	326,171	74.0
Female	97,654	23.9	114,334	26.0
Black	19,746	4.4 **	19,571	4.0 **
Male	10,894	55.7	10,541	53.9
Female	8,852	44.3	9,030	46.1
Hispanic	6,323	1.4 **	7,456	1.5 **
Male	4,573	72.3	5,240	70.3
Female	1,750	27.7	2,216	29.7
American Indian	1,051	0.2 **	1,308	0.3 **
Male	772	73.5	952	72.8
Female	279	26.5	358	27.2
Asian	9,763	2.2 **	16,899	3.5 **
Male	7,830	80.2	13,677	80.9
Female	1,933	19.8	3,222	19.1

Source: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; Adapted from Data Provided by Dr. Reginald Wilson, Director; Office of Minority Affairs; American Council on Education.

* *Percentages Rounded Off.* ** *Percent of total.*

demic marketplace, which occurred between 1975 and 1985, or may indicate an increasing awareness of options available. There is also the high probability that many, younger minorities with doctorates are now less fearful of job insecurity outside the academy. Finally, many minority persons with doctorates may not wish to subject themselves to the uncertainties and ambiguities of the long and highly frustrating tenure process. Therefore, some opt for occupations devoid of such "hassles," which may also offer substantially greater financial rewards.

Table 4 shows that the total number of persons hired in faculty positions actually rose from 446,830 in 1975 to 485,739 in 1983 (the last year for which reliable data are available).

Blacks experienced an absolute and a percent-of-total decline in faculty positions during that period. Hispanics, American Indians, and Asians, on the other hand, gained slightly in percent of total and gained substantially (especially Asian faculty) in absolute numbers.

The number of Blacks in faculty positions dropped from 19,746 (4.4%) in 1975 to 19,571 (4.0%) in 1983. Because there are 120 predominantly and/or Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) in contrast to the relatively smaller number of institutions populated primarily by Native Americans or Hispanics, these figures are highly suspect. The number of black faculty in predominantly white institutions is more likely to approximate 1% of total college and university faculty than 4.0g6 (Blackwell, 1987, and Harvey, 1985). By contrast, the absolute number of Hispanics rose from 6,323 or 1.4% in 1975, to 7,456 (1.5%) in 1983. American Indians registered a slight increase; that is from 1,051 (0.2%) in 1975 to 1, 308 (0.3%) in 1983 (Table 4).

Gender differences are especially striking and important, since there is a tendency for graduate students, when given the opportunity, to seek out same-sex mentors (Erkut and Mokros, 1984; and Henderson, 1985). As displayed in Table 4, among every minority group identified, minority faculty members were significantly more likely to be men than women. The 1983 percent of males ranged from 53.9 among Blacks to 70.3 percent Hispanic, to 72.8 percent American Indian, to 80.9 percent Asian faculty members (Table 4).

Mentoring Minority Students

30 The Stony Brook Conference Mentoring

The word mentor has its origins in Greek mythology. It is said that Odysseus, son of King Laertes, left his son, Telemachus, his possessions and his house in the care of his trusted friend as he went off to fight in the Trojan War. Odysseus, assuming that he would be away from Telemachus for approximately twenty years, realized that he would be absent for the formative years of his son's development. Mentor was entrusted with the responsibility of nurturing, caring for, counseling and protecting Telemachus.

It is believed that the concept of mentoring is derived from the roles performed by Mentor and applies to others who assume similar functions for people whose lives are, in some important way, entrusted to them.

Innumerable definitions of mentoring exist in the literature. Consequently, confusion abounds concerning the nature, roles, characteristics, and functions of mentors (Alleman et al., 1984; Blackwell, 1983; 1985; Burke, 1984; Phillips-Jones, and Stein, 1981). Stein, for example, identified at least 27 terms used to define mentoring. The problem of attaining conceptual clarity was also noted by Farylo and Paludi (1985). The interpretation offered by Alleman, et al, captures a meaning of mentoring that seems to dominate the literature. She states that mentoring involves a relationship between a person of higher rank or expertise who "teaches, guides and develops a novice" (Alleman, 1984). Blackwell (1983) and Clawson (1985) stress the developmental dimension of mentoring. Specifically, Blackwell sees mentoring as a process by which a person of superior rank, special achievements and prestige, instructs, counsels, guides and facilitates the intellectual and/or career development of a person identified as a protege or mentee.

Mentoring is distinguishable from role modeling (Blackwell, 1983). However, a mentor may also be a role model for the protege. A role model is someone who may or may not be present in an individual's immediate social orbit or in close proximity to that person. Yet, the role model is admired, respected and is so exemplary in one or more characteristics that he/she is worthy of emulation. Examples of role models include one's parents, siblings, professionals, a literary figure, political leader, or a social activist. In Blackwell's research on mentoring and networking among black professionals (1983), one respondent stated that his role model was Paul Robeson and that he had been inspired to emulate him, not because he had ever met him, which he had not, but as a consequence of reading a great deal about Robeson's life and personal experiences as a scholar-athlete-professional artist.

During the mentoring process, role modeling often becomes a positive derivative of the relationship that develops between the mentor and the protege.

Mentoring is an intense, close, exceptionally interactive and complex relationship. "Role relationships may affect patterns similar to those implicit in parenting such as authority, respect, intimacy and trust" (Blackwell, 1983:7). Because of this special feature, Levinson (1978) stated that mentoring must be defined in terms of "the character of the relationship and the function it serves" rather than in the terms of a set of formal roles (Levinson, 1978: 97).

Persons who are regarded as mentors are presumed to be endowed with particular characteristics which distinguish them from persons who are not so defined. While the literature on gender and mentoring is conflictive, it is often assumed that mentors are older and of the same gender and race as the protege

(Alleman, et al., 1984; Blackwell, 1983; Burke, 1984; Clawson, 1985: Erkut and Mokros, 1984; and Prehm and Issacson, 1985).

Mentors are also described as experienced professionals who are respected by their colleagues; caring and compassionate persons capable of communicating effectively with proteges; persons who have the ability to listen and project interest in what others have to say; sensitivity combined with willingness to exercise authority when necessary and individuals who have influence, status in their professions and power or who have immediate access to power sources.

Functions: Mentors perform an immense variety of functions in the process of facilitating the overall development of a protege. Many of these functions are described in terms of concrete roles of mentors for special populations such as Blacks (Blackwell, 1983; McKnight, 1987); women (Collins, 1985; and Shapiro, et al, 1978: "adult learners" (Flach, Smith and Glasser, 1982), "gifted adults" (Kaufmann, 1986), and teachers (Taylor, 1986). Henderson (1985) lists the following functions of mentors: "teaching, guiding, advising, counseling, sponsoring, role modeling, motivating, protecting, communicating, and invisibility" (being subtle but not expecting credit (Henderson, 1985: 1982)). The perception of mentor functions as sponsor and teacher is shared by such researchers as Farreb, et al, (1984) and Kaufmann, 1985. Farreb expands those functions to include being a "devil ' s advocate by challenging and confronting the mentee" (Farreb, 1984:21), and by serving as a coach to the protege. Farreb and associates agree with Kaufmann (1984) that a good mentor provides encouragement, support and professionalization to the protege. In this sense, a responsibility of a mentor is to engage in candid dialogues with the protege to ascertain that person's skills, interests, aspirations, and problems (Farreb, 1984, and Kaufmann, 1985).

Similar views are expressed by Schickett and Haring-Hidore (1985) who make a distinction between psychosocial functions and vocational functions of a mentor. In their view, psychosocial functions encompass role modeling, counseling, encouraging and making the transition from the power position of superior to a more equal position of friend or colleague. Vocational functions, on the other hand, refer to educating, consulting, sponsoring, and protecting the protege from persons or situations potentially injurious to the protege (Schickett and Haring-Hidore, 1985:627).

Blackwell (1983) identified some 16 functions of mentors. Mentoring functions include:

1 providing training for students,
2 stimulating the acquisition of knowledge,
3 providing much needed information about their educational programs,
4 giving emotional support and encouragement to students,
5 socializing the student into the role requirements, expectations, and organizational imperatives or demands of the profession,
6 helping the protege in the development of a personal ethic,
7 socializing or creating an understanding of the requirements for successful maneuverability within the educational bureaucracies,
8 assisting the protege in the development of coping strategies during the period of training to become a professional,
9 socializing the protege into the mentor's own professional and social network in order to facilitate the development of contacts requisite to career advancement,
10 writing letters of recommendation, making contacts for possible job opportunities for the protege,
11 teaching the protege about the internal politics of the training milieu as well as that of the occupational network,
12 informal instructions about etiquette and appropriate dress for social occasions,
13 assisting the protege in making contacts through travel to professional meetings and through collaboration on research,
14 building self-confidence in the protege and establishing a relationship of mutual trust as a precursor of other situations and other scholarly pursuits in which the mentor may be involved,
15 defending and protecting proteges under attack and
16 enhancing the protege's career (Brim and Wheeler, 1966; Cameron and Blackburn, 1981; Collins and Scott, 1978; de Solla and Beaver, 1966: Fowler, 1982; Hennig and Jardim, 1977; Kanter, 1977; Klop and Harrison, 1982; Moore, 1982; Roche, 1979: and Speizer, 1981).

Proteges, too, have important roles to perform in the development of a mentoring relationship. This is particularly salient in view of the necessity for both to operate from a position of mutual trust and respect (Gehrke and Kay, 1984). It is important for the protege to demonstrate positive attitudes; interest in the subject matter and/or project on which the two are working; competence and willingness to work diligently to achieve goals; flexibility; control of frustrations and the capacity to cope with unanticipated disturbing events; maturity; responsiveness to assist in crisis management punctuality and appreciation for the time demands placed upon the mentor, and willingness to engage in critical thinking followed by sound assessments and evaluations of or about specific tasks and issues; and commitment to the need for mentoring.

A research study by Blackwell (1983) showed that only 12.7 percent of the respondents had a mentor during their graduate or professional school training. Using a mentoring scale, patterned somewhat after Shapiro and associates' (1978) continuum, which showed a range of relationships from mentoring to peer pals, he demonstrated that the mentoring process not only encompasses a special relationship but that many persons who never had a mentor reported strong appreciation for the value of mentors.

Comments such as the following, made by respondents in that study, illustrate the need:

> "My mentor had a great perception for the need of aspiring young leaders in their field. Thus, she established a relationship which was friendly and open. The value of this was that we were both free to express professional opinions. When my logic, reasoning, or statement of facts was more valid, she acknowledged. I was perfectly aware that she was more an authority, and I listened and learned. She devoted many hours working along with me."
>
> "Mentors can help bridge the gap."
>
> "They (mentors) are of vital importance because minority students, often in a sea of whiteness, feel isolated and alienated from the mainstream environment."
>
> "Mentors are important to help black students cope with the negative stereotypes Whites have about Blacks."
>
> "Mentors are very important! If one does not have a mentor while in school, he may never complete the requirements. This has been true in more than one case at the University of ." (Blackwell, 1983: 107-108)

Selection of mentors and of proteges may be problematic. Mentors may select graduate students to become their proteges; graduate students may select professors to become their mentors, or the mentor and potential protege may be matched in some other way. As indicated in an earlier section, some researchers have found evidence that same-sex mentoring is considerably more common than cross-gender mentoring (Levinson, 1978). Further, in the experiences of black graduate and professional students, as reported by Blackwell (1983), race was also a highly salient variable in the selection process. However, the importance of race and gender could also be a function of whether or not women and racial or ethnic minorities were present and whether that presence actually enhanced the probability of minority students or women being selected as proteges. The implication of these studies is that, indeed, minority students are now likely to have a mentor where minority faculty are employed. Nevertheless, one caveat must be introduced; that is, some graduate students may be more motivated by their perceptions of the influence and power of the prospective mentor,

when choosing a mentor (assuming that the option is available to them), than they are by considerations of similarity of race and/or ethnic identity. On the other hand, many may have internalized the notion, rightly or wrongly, that compatibility or similarity of race or ethnicity is the central determinant of effective and enduring mentor-protege relationships.

The selection process includes a number of possibilities. The mentor may select as a protege someone about whom knowledge has been obtained by virtue of classroom performance and interaction. The mentor may select a person who has applied for and been granted a departmental research or teaching assistantship. The mentor may, after reviewing applicants for admission to graduate study within the department, offer a graduate student an opportunity to work on his/her research project. As a result of that agreement and by virtue of working together, a mentoring relationship evolves. A mentor may also be assigned a graduate student as an advisee, and that interaction may develop into a substantive mentor-protege relationship.

A protege may also select a faculty member as a potential mentor. That may be the result of a positive classroom experience and the signals received from the professor indicating a special interest in the student. It may follow casual contacts and conversations at departmental activities, even though the student has never taken a course with the particular professor. It may occur as a consequence of a special effort made by the graduate student to seek out a professor because of that person's reputation as a scholar or said person's power and influence, or of that person's demonstrated interest in working with graduate students. In either event, whether the process is initiated by the graduate student or by the professor, there appears to be some degree of "reciprocity of signaling" between the two that the impending relationship is mutually acceptable. However, if a graduate student initiates the process, one trait that students must possess is assertiveness.

The mentoring process is developmental. It is crucial as an instrument of potential value in reducing the trauma of completing graduate or professional school education. Illustrative of recent programs built upon the mentoring process and its value for minority students is one located at the University of California at Santa Barbara. Edmond J. Keller, Associate Dean of the Graduate Division of that institution, recently offered this description. He stated that the mentoring program at UCSB is three tiered and designed to increase the number of minorities in faculty and research careers. This program teams faculty researchers with undergraduate and graduate students for participation in funded research projects. The research endeavors not only provide opportunities for stimulating interest in research but also are training grounds for the development of other characteristics that will loom large for the participants in their overall growth and development. One assumption of this strategy is that "students who participate in research as undergraduates are more likely to become researchers themselves" (*Black Issues in Higher Education*. 2:16 (March 1, 1986, p.3). Another important attribute of this program is that it is an early identification and sequential program. By that is meant that talented and interested minority students are identified as undergraduates; the mentoring process begins at that level and continues through graduate school; and graduate students themselves, like their faculty mentors, learn more about the process of mentoring.

This program appears to build upon what we have learned from other programs: that it is the responsibility of mentors to enlist potential proteges for involvement in their own research activities; that the potential mentee develops a serious and genuine appreciation for the rigors of the modality of learning specific to the field of inquiry as well as for the value of selfdiscipline, commitment, and time management.

An earlier example of a mentoring program for minority-graduate students began at Washington State University (WSU) shortly after the end of World War II. Two white professors of sociology, whose geographic origins were Alabama and Arkansas, developed a program for the recruitment of black students for the Ph.D. program in sociology at that institution. These sociologists had already established a good relationship with black faculty leaders at several HBCUs. They decided to utilize their friendships (old boy networks, perhaps) to facilitate recruitment of promising black students. Selected students were automatically awarded assistantships, granted tuition waivers, and placed in contact with potential mentors. The selection process undoubtedly was a function of "reciprocity of signals" from the potential mentor to the potential protege and vice versa, indicating mutual interest and desirability of working together. Once established, the mentor-protege relationship has had a profound impact on the profession. The process has been effective for more than 35 years, and WSU has consistently been in the top five institutions in the production of black doctorates in sociology.

A third illustration is the doctoral program in psychology at Ohio State University. This program emphasizes the training of black and Hispanic students and maximizes the mentoring process for effective production of doctoral degree students. A fourth example is the Professional Development Program at the University of California/Berkeley which not only stresses effective mentoring but is illustrative of institutional commitment to the recruitment and graduation of minority students (Reed, 1986).

The need for mentoring While some minority students are highly independent and sophisticated with respect to expectations about graduate work and in their understanding of graduate bureaucracies, many are not. Their undergraduate experience may have prepared them for the academic rigors of graduate education without preparing them for the non-academic subtleties and nuances of graduate education.

Graduate education is considerably more than an academic or intellectual enterprise. It is highly bureaucratic, often politicized, and power-conflictive. It is replete with ambiguity, changing norms, and specialized treatment for prima donna

faculty as well as for those students who have been ordained as the cloned representative of the department's mythical model. Often, graduate students become or could become trapped in the conflicts of antagonistic professors. Many minority students are unaware of the "hidden curriculum" (courses which, if taken, would symbolize academic proficiency and intellectual status). Minority students, unlike many Anglo-centric students who quickly make "connections" and become involved in crucial social and academic networks, may experience difficulty not only in learning "the rules of the game" but even in knowing that such "rules" exist.

It is in this context that effective mentoring is imperative. It is safe to assume, though it is not always the case, that minority faculty members who are sensitive to the criticality of these situations will fulfill that mentoring function for minority students. While it is true that some will not do so, and some are reluctant because of their own agendas and belief in meritocracy, the majority will willingly perform that function for students in need. Parenthetically, it should be stated that sometimes minority faculty do so at their own peril, and the rewards they receive are not commensurate with the services they render.

Mentoring steps Mentors of minority students have a first responsibility to establish trust and confidence. That may be accomplished by virtue of a reputation that precedes them as well as through concrete manifestations of commitment to the development of that student as a scholar-researcher/teacher. The process may already have been enhanced by the student's knowledge of the professor or reputation for spending time with students.

Having laid the foundation for mutual respect and trust, there is the responsibility for the development and strengthening of positive attitudes about work and of that potential protege's own capabilities. It is essential for graduate students to have unshakable confidence in their own abilities to do an outstanding job of whatever they undertake. It is equally invaluable for them to develop the right mind-set about work, time, time-management, punctuality, and the ultimate value of consistent engagement with learning processes. It is in this context, that the role-modeling function of a mentor is crucial. Cavalier attitudes by those entrusted with the responsibility to facilitate development of students may produce a cavalier approach by their intellectual offspring. Attitudes conveying an appreciation for the values articulated earlier, accompanied by behavior demonstrating a serious commitment to these values, may become the model emulated by the protege.

A good mentor is available to the protege. It is this availability that permits attention to questions of utmost importance to the protege and a better understanding of the protege's own interest and concerns. Being available also allows the two to engage in conversations that foster learning about the politics of graduate education, effective maneuvering of the bureaucratic maze of graduate education, understandings of the curriculum and of the appropriate courses to take, and general guidance. It is through high quality time spent together that sharing occurs and graduate students come to appreciate the fact that the mentor actually cares about him/her as a person and about his/her success in and beyond graduate school.

When one reaches the dissertation stage, mentoring is especially valuable. The mentor has a responsibility to persuade the protege to think carefully about dissertation topics, their justifiability, their researchability, and their defensibility and how to frame the right questions. A true mentor encourages the protege to engage in extensive reading about the subject, to search the journals, to use the library, and to think ideas through in debates with their own peers, and ultimately to give a logical and strong defense for the selection of the topic. The mentor takes the protege through trial runs in defense of the topic in preparation for appearance before a larger audience or committee.

The mentor is available for advice and consultation at every stage of the dissertation process. Further, when moments of inevitable depression that seem to engulf literally all graduate students occur, the mentor is available for listening, being a sounding board, and for timely advice. A good mentor will demand drafts of chapters as they are written. By reading and evaluating them, the mentor detects strengths and weaknesses of the dissertation; helps the protege to strengthen writing capability and become increasingly competent in the rigors of scientific methodology, logical analysis, and rigorous and creative thinking. The mentor demonstrates, once again, the ultimate value of high standards as well as of self-imposed high expectations. This process is not exclusively devoted to the completion of the dissertation. It is preparation for the future, since the mentor is learning a great deal about the potential marketability of the protege.

Once the dissertation is completed, the mentor is there for support, encouragement and confidence-building so that its defense is not excessively traumatic. However, the process of mentoring does not end with the successful defense of the dissertation. It continues with respect to job search, job-placement and future efforts of upward mobility but at a pace that demonstrates the protege's capacity for independence and the mentor's willingness to step back and permit more social space for the protege.

Problems in Mentoring do occur. Graduate students may encounter extreme difficulties in obtaining a mentor. Several reasons may be offered to explain this difficulty. One reason is that some professors never choose to become a mentor. Their rationale for not doing so may range from the absence of course relief for time-consuming work to lack of commitment to the mentoring process, to unwillingness to deal with the overlydependent students (Busch, 1985) or to generalized opposition to the concept of mentoring due primarily to the absence of mentoring in their own lives or to the fact that their own career blocks limit their desires to assist others junior in status to them (Clawson, 1985).

Even after it has been established, a true mentor-protege

relationship may not develop. The failure may be explained by "lack of good chemistry," unreal expectations of mentor by protege or of protege by mentor or the inability of the mentor to spend the time demanded by the protege (Farreb, et al., 1984).

Sometimes the mentor-protege relationship is endangered by imputations by or suspicions of others of sexual improprieties which may generate stress and discomfort between the mentor and protege. There is also a "risk of gossip," the development of sexual attractions not controlled by the maintenance of a strictly professional relationship, and spousal jealousies originating in "excessive time spent with the protege," or presumed undue attention to protege demands. Suspicions may be triggered by exaggerations of intimacy conveyed by the protege who desires such relationships or by mentor behavior suggesting sexual intimacy or by other faculty and graduate students who are envious of the quality of the relationship established even when that relationship is well within the boundaries of appropriate and professional behavior (Alleman, 1984; and Henderson, 1985). Of course, *actual* sexual misconduct can destroy the relationship.

Demands upon Minority Faculty

Mentoring is especially demanding upon minority group faculty members. In the first place, in most departments and in the majority of institutions, minority faculty exist only in token numbers. The very fact of their presence raises the level of expectation of them and "everything minority" devolves to that person's care. Such persons must serve on all committees in which a minority member is needed or expected. They are expected to counsel, advise, support and nurture students. Often, community organizations add to the demand for their services. Simultaneously, their departments expect them to excel in all tenure requirements of research/scholarly activity, effective teaching and service.

Unfortunately, far too often, departmental, collegiate or university demands do not result in rewards (tenure) commensurate with the expenditures of time, energy and resources on what some may characterize as essentially non-academic functions. Yet the need for all these services persists. Dilemmas are posed for minority group faculties, and important choices must be made.

One way to resolve the conflicts created by this dilemma is to recruit, train and graduate more minorities for faculty positions and then to hire them on a much more massive scale than has ever been done before. To handle this situation, institutions must restructure the reward system so that greater weight will be granted the type of services that many faculty members from minority groups perform.

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RESPONSE

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In preparing for this particular moment, I asked myself why I have worked with so many black and other minority students at M.I.T. for the thirteen years that I have performed research there. I asked myself, "Is there a positive residue which remains after that experience has been distilled?" The answer is, yes, there is a positive residue. I think what I learned is something that is different from what most people call mentoring. I think there is something more fundamental, more basic than trust or confidence or attitude or availability. I think the real thing that I learned after thirteen years on the rock is that there is a basic substance to the quality of performance at major research universities. That substance leads to a definition of the long poles under the tent; things that really stand out and make a difference.

Quality Performance at Research Universities

Judgment First of these poles is that each Ph.D. student produced must be greater than, must be brighter than, must be more assertive in a professional sense than his or her advisor. That's the cardinal rule at M.I.T., in engineering. Why? Well, if this does not occur, then the thesis advisor has made the greatest error; namely, he or she has failed in judgment.

Why do I say that? The thing that is important about an M.I.T.-type environment is not how much mathematics you know, it's not how much equipment you can bring to a given area; the thing that really makes a difference, is judgment. After all, at M.I.T. everybody can do as much mathematics as everybody else or bring in as much equipment. The real issue is are you able to make those critical decisions to determine if your product will be greater than, brighter than and more assertive than you? If you fail in that, you might be a full professor, but you still would be an "also ran." If you don't recognize that, then you are going to fail the student and fail yourself.

Insulated Environment The second pole under the tent: Ph.D. students at M.I.T. and in M.I.T.-type institutions, especially in the hard sciences and engineering, achieve at the highest level when they are allowed to perform in what I call an insulated environment. Hence, the thesis advisor must immediately select helpful components and must also take action to throw out the useless components. I think this means the following: that producing minority Ph.D.s in predominantly white institutions by white faculty is an impossibility. I just don't think you can generate scholarship in that way. I certainly had a white Ph.D. advisor, a white mentor, but I think that my success or my activities were exceptions and not the rule.

M.I.T. functions by generating an insulated environment for the performance of high scholarly research. If you look at the environment and ask what you must do, the first thing, typically, is that the thesis advisor must select a sufficiently intellectual challenge and a discrete topic. You are to do the only work in the world of this type on that identified area. That's yours. No matter how hard it may appear to be, no matter how esoteric it may appear to be, you lock on to that, and you bring it down to a level where NSF can fund it. Then you obtain the raw physical facilities. You fight for space, you kick, scratch, cry, whatever you need to do to get the space. You get your special equipment, support personnel, those people that will look out for you in the midnight hour, and then you generate appropriate funding contacts, both within your own institution and outside of your institution. After you have the raw physical facilities, then you must find students. This means judgment—in public. Everybody looks at you. "Why did you select that student? You were at the table with everyone else, you could have selected any student that you wanted, but you selected a black student." At that moment, the black faculty member in the M.I.T. environment is exposed far more than the student. How many people realize that?

Select your student, and then construct your insulation. Insulate your environment: understand the gender-specific issues which Jim Blackwell has just explained to us. I downplay personal relationships. Some of my students I've liked as people, some I've actually disliked. But the point is, when you form the insulation, you pick out the important ingredients and throw away the useless ones, like race. You have to throw race away. So you normalize the racism by getting all black students. Then race is not an issue. Scholarship is. Other ethnic groups do the same thing, Jews, Italians. They do the very same thing. Women at M.I.T. do the same thing. They form their own research groups. So the model is not original at all.

Once in an environment that is insulated, students perform at a superior level. For example, over a thirteen-year period we were able to generate more than 95 technical publications—a record that speaks for itself.

I think something more sinister, something more like alchemy than altruism, exists in the dominant white universities that are serious about research. It's not about trust or confidence or attitudes or availability. There is a hard, cold calculation that goes on at these institutions, and, to recognize them for what they are, the faculty member is evaluated on his ability to generate scholarship within a student; that is, to transfer his skills to a student, so that the student comes out far superior to the mentor. That is a major requirement. The student must be better than you. The student must be the authority in that area when s/he graduates.

To bring this about, you have to have enough sense and courage and guts to generate an insulated environment. I don't think any black faculty member at M.I.T., or any white one for that matter, can exist without appropriately structuring an insulated environment. If you normalize the racism, you throw out race and leave only scholarship. With that kind of style, one can be successful.

RESPONSE

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Introduction

Dr. Blackwell's paper, "Faculty Role in Mentoring Minority Students" does a thorough job of setting forth the problems of low minority enrollments, declining minority faculty in colleges and universities and declining interest by minority Ph.D. in pursuing academe as a first-choice occupation after graduation. The reader is shown that few minorities are represented in specific disciplines, particularly in the scientific and technological areas.

The tremendous barriers to minority students' access to graduate and professional education reflect mainstream society's attitudes towards Blacks and other minorities. In *Mainstreaming Outsiders: The Production of Black Professionals* (1981), Blackwell spoke to the reasons for pessimism among Blacks about the Reagan administration's heavy-handed policies to cut the Guaranteed Student Loan Program and generally weaken federal support for educational programs which benefit low-income students. Blackwell went further to express the particular concern that Blacks have for parity in state appropriations to education, indicating that, "Blacks have little reason to believe that legislatures controlled by the majority population will be particularly responsive or sympathetic to the needs of black people without federal leadership and pressure" (p.328).

Blackwell, in an earlier report (1977), dealt with problems of access to graduate and professional schools and set the tone for his discussions of the unequal participation of Blacks in postbaccalaureate endeavors by positing three important relationships: the relationship between the economic system and the viability of efforts to expand graduate and professional opportunities for black students; the relationship between black representation in certain disciplines and the availability of information on alternatives to the traditional job markets; and the relationship between levels of aspiration of black students and external motivating factors, such as expectations, knowledge of opportunity structures and gender discrimination.

As a result of diminishing financial resources and opportunities for graduate education, Blackwell (1987) states in his paper that not only are there fewer Blacks taking the Ph.D. degree, but there is an acute underrepresentation of black faculty on predominantly white campuses. The most dismal projection for the future of black faculty numbers comes from the data showing that few black graduates are choosing academe as their first choice of employment.

Mays (1981) and Blackwell discussed the lack of positive reinforcement and reward given to black faculty for providing the kind of mentoring relationships with their students which offset negative influences on student achievement. It is no wonder that Blacks are opting for other employment settings, when data on black Ph.D. graduates show that they often take longer to graduate, are older and are much more heavily indebted at the beginning of their careers than their white counterparts (Howard University, 1986).

To underscore the magnitude of the problems facing black faculty who are called upon to serve on minority affairs committees and mentor black students in addition to their requirements to teach and publish, Smith and his associates (1986) identify five problems of black students on white campuses as:

1. Unwillingness or inability of universities to recognize the differential experiences of black students which are manifested in their learning styles and adaptation to stress.
2. Lack of reinforcement within the institution of the racial and cultural identity of the student.
3. Isolation of black students because of inadequate financial aid and negative faculty attitudes.
4. Negative peer pressure on academic achievement.
5. Culturally derived resistance to asking for special help.

Evidently, the problems of black students are both personal and institutional, and they cannot be addressed by any one faculty mentor nor by a handful of black faculty who are overworked and underrewarded.

Mentors are generally older and often of the same gender and race as the protege. While this may hold true for many mentor- protege relationships, in a related article by Morten and Atkinson (1983), the results from studies of black college students suggest that most black students are either in what is termed the Immersion Stage of identity development, in which they endorse minority values and behaviors exclusively, or they are in the Synergetic Articulation and Awareness Stage, in which they selectively subscribe to the values and behaviors of both the minority and the dominant culture. These researchers found that a large number of students in the Immersion Stage preferred a black counselor to a white counselor. Students in the Synergetic Articulation and Awareness Stage, however, expressed indifference with respect to the counselor's race. The salient feature is the finding that black undergraduate students are not homogeneous in their racial preference nor in their stage of racial identity. Black graduate and professional students may also exhibit the same differences in racial identity, and where black faculty are few or unavailable, they may seek to relate to faculty members, of whatever race, who demonstrate the most openness to interaction.

The definitions and actions of mentoring given by Dr. Blackwell provide clarity as to how the mentor stimulates and shapes the thinking of the protege. The definitions and actions, in and of themselves, cannot capture the depth of the feelings between mentors and proteges nor the breadth of the feelings which must be extensive enough to mold the protege into a confident, secure, knowledgeable whole person who also has a terminal degree.

An Example at Howard University

An example of a type of extensive interaction between mentors and proteges may be found at Howard University, which has graduated sixteen persons, fourteen of whom are black women, with the Ph.D. degree in Communication Sciences. Speaking exclusively about the women who have completed the program, all were in their late twenties and early thirties, and none had married except for one student who was a single parent. Most were first-generation college graduates, like so many other black university students. All were first-generation Ph.D.s. Mentoring of these students included all of Blackwell's sixteen functions, especially emotional support and encouragement, as well as counseling in all areas of life expectations for them as black women.

Professionally, they were to become a minority within a minority, with respect to gender and race (Cole and Massey, 1985). The heavy responsibility of these women was, upon graduation, to take their place in a milieu which is both white and male. Further, they would have to pave the way for other black women and represent black issues accurately and fairly. Coupled with the knowledge of these responsibilities was their immediate concern for their lack of financial security and for their personal future in a society that values women for their "femininity". Jones and Welch (1979) discuss the negative self- image of women in corporate structures which, for black women, is both a sexual and a racial negative self-image. For example, black women often face accusations of pursuing their own self- interest at the expense of black males. In the professional arena, too, the traits of aggressiveness and ambition which are positively reinforced in males in leadership positions are negatively viewed when these same behaviors are exhibited by black women.

There came a point in the educational careers of several of these black women graduate students when they experienced the fear-of-success/fear-of-failure conflict. The actual taking of the degree represented a positive step forward for them and their families, but also a necessary step, since many in the black community hold the Ph.D. in high regard, but by the time the degree was achieved, the students were deeply in debt for the cost of their education. The taking of the degree also meant a possible displacement away from the goals they had set for their personal happiness.

The barriers to completing the degree process within three to four years and the elements of conflict described contributed to some of our students taking five years or more to finish.

A Survey of Minority Graduate Students on Mentoring

With respect to mentoring minority graduate students, Dr. Blackwell provides examples of student comments about their mentors and selects a few of these comments which aptly speak to the influence of mentors on the students' lives. In addition, this author's own experience confirms that minority graduate students have particular needs and perceptions of mentoring and role modeling.

What has perhaps been needed to round out the discussion of mentoring minority graduate and professional students is their own testimony about what they feel they need from the mentoring interaction while they are in the academic process. Even when the institution's agenda is to foster the intellectual growth and development of Blacks and other non-mainstream persons, the needs of the students are still varied and great. A survey was developed to ask graduate students in a large graduate department at Howard University how they perceive mentors and role models and what their needs are as proteges. The survey asked students about their perceptions of the characteristics of a good mentor and positive role model. They were also asked to indicate the mentor characteristics most important to them as minority graduate students. Finally, they were asked whether they had special mentoring needs because of gender or national origin. Eighty-two students, 45% of whom were from Third World countries, responded, and their comments are grouped under the following headings:

I. Characteristics of a Good Mentor : knowledgeable, available, willing to work with students, compatible professional interests and goals, ability to inspire and motivate, commitment to students, open, professional and collegial respect, experience with dissertations and theses.

II. Characteristics of a Positive Role Model : positive and serious demeanor, knowledgeable, recognized researcher and teacher, hard-working, diligent, visible, professionally respected

III. Characteristics of a Mentor Which Are Important to Minority Students : loyalty, willing to share time, willing to listen, ability to give sound advice, ability to help solve problems, ability to smooth the way in the department, knowledgeable about student financial assistance, caring, supportive, understanding, compassionate, flexible, open to black research interests, knowledgeable about issues in the Diaspora, demanding, well respected

IV. Mentoring Needs Related to Gender: ability to positively reinforce and highlight student's best efforts, regardless of gender; sensitivity to the unique problems facing women academically, personally, and professionally

V. Mentoring Needs Related to Nationality : respectful of and knowledgeable about cultural and national differences and needs It is interesting to note that the students provided traditional characteristics when asked about good mentors and positive role models. Differences in how mentoring was perceived came when the students were asked about their own needs. The characteristics became more subjective and focused on the student; for example, loyalty, supportiveness,openness to black resealrch interests and awareness of financial resources for students. The students' responses tended to reflect more of a need for a humane approach to mentoring. Yet, the students also wanted their mentors to be respected, knowledgeable about black issues from a world view and demanding of students' performance. The responses to mentoring needs related to gender and nationality

reflect students' desire for their mentors to treat them as equals and to respect their cultural and national origins.

The Howard data suggest that a growth-producing environment of trust and confidence in which students can function most effectively can best be developed by a faculty mentor who demonstrates an awareness of, a sensitivity to, and a respect for the cultural heritage of the student, the problems encumbering that heritage and the research perspective of minority graduate and professional students.

Recommendations

Since the faculties in the universities and colleges across the nation represent the intelligentsia, it is our responsibility to decrease the number of obstacles to retaining and graduating minorities and to increase the viability of minority faculties.

First, minority faculty will simply have to be given credit where it counts for serving on minority issue committees and mentoring minority students. The number of minority advisees should be considered in the same way as dissertation and thesis advisees are considered in annual faculty activity reports. At the time of tenure and promotion hearings, minority student mentoring should be given equal weight with research and publications because of the certainty that no faculty member can do everything. Given all that has been documented about the special needs of minority students, particularly on white campuses, it is clear that a minority faculty member cannot mentor several minority graduate students and also do the intensive, solitary work necessary to publish several articles a year.

Next, more ***funds*** need to be made available to minority graduate and professional students, even if it means that fewer students will receive support. Howard University, also, has recently approved offering graduate assistantships in the amount of $8,000 with tuition remission so that students can more comfortably pursue their education without a nagging concern for money in a high-cost area. It has been well documented that black families, as a group, lack the means by which to support their children through college, let alone several additional years of advanced study. After taking their undergraduate degrees, most minority graduates are on their own financially. Therefore, retention of minority and professional students depends largely upon the financial assistance they can receive for living expenses and tuition. Providing adequate assistance also decreases the likelihood that students will have to take out loans. Not only should the institutions promote minority support, but its faculties should be thoroughly knowledgeable about available financial resources earmarked for minority students.

Recruitment is another issue that deserves attention. There should be a serious commitment to welcoming minority students to pursue graduate and professional degrees. Recruiters need to be well-versed in the issues and problems affecting minorities and come prepared to talk with students about their concerns.

Faculty should individually and collectively express concern for minority student recruitment and retention and give support to those in public office who act appropriately. Elected executives must also be held accountable for policies which worsen an already serious problem in this country.

It is highly unlikely that even a massive recruitment of minority faculty, as suggested by Dr. Blackwell, will result in a significant increase in faculty numbers. As has been pointed out, other, more lucrative opportunities are available now to new minority Ph.D.s and they are opting to take advantage of these avenues. Unless entire university pay scales and tenure structures change dramatically, minority Ph.D.s may continue to look elsewhere to ease financial indebtedness and obtain greater job satisfaction. Perhaps, rather than to recruit new minority Ph.D.s, it may be more advantageous to seek Ph.D.s who have worked in other settings for five years or more and give credit for the years spent in other capacities.

Advising and mentoring minority graduate and professional students should be equally shared by both minority and non- minority faculty. All faculty advisors and mentors should have an orientation which includes a state-of-the-art bibliography and discussion on issues affecting minorities in higher education.

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RESPONSE

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Professor Blackwell has clearly illustrated the tremendous gap in production of minority scholars. The challenge before us and before our academic institutions is to understand the reasons behind this disturbing trend and then to engage new strategies which will remedy the situation. Having identified the faculty as key to whether the next generation of scholars will include ethnic minorities and mentoring as a fundamental activity of the faculty in graduate training, Blackwell has listed the roles or responsibilities deemed essential to be fulfilled by a good mentor. I will add to his list several other qualities of a mentor that I consider to be particularly important. That discussion will be followed by an opinion on who should be a mentor for minority students. Given the paucity of minority scholars in academia today and the fact that they are very often already oversubscribed, it is clear that massive increases in the number of minority faculty are needed. Until that infusion is achieved, non-minority faculty will have to recognize their responsibility in this regard.

Further Mentor Qualities

A good mentor should make the mentee feel valued. This process begins with first contact by *enlisting* the student. However, the minority student is recruited to the department, he/she should be sought out by prospective advisors and invited to their inner circle. The mentor must take the initiative in establishing a good relationship from the start. Where differences in background separate them, the mentor must bear the lion's share of the sensitivity and of the dedication to a successful working relationship. Why? Because of the two, the mentor is in the superior, stable position while the mentee has much to prove and may need time to absorb the intellectual and social mores of the academic community. *Availability* of the mentor is an obvious measure of value of the mentee. Students are fully aware of the hectic schedules of their advisors. They know and appreciate when they rise to the top of the priority list, and they feel valued. *Delegating* responsibility is a clear sign of valuing the student. To be relied upon or even to work together with the mentor is an uplifting reward and reinforces the hard work and dedication of the mentee. Another sign to the mentee of being valued is if the mentor provides information about opportunities and alternatives available within the institution, about fellowships or about employment in the field. Subtle and not-so-subtle messages are given in the choice of opportunities and how they are presented.

The good mentor must earn the trust and confidence of the mentee. In this context I will take exception to Blackwell's assertion that "it is essential for graduate students to have unshakable confidence in their own abilities to do an outstanding job of whatever they undertake." That is, I believe that one must not artificially build the confidence of graduate students. Mentors must set a good example and above all must be honest and fair in their dealings with all their students. This honesty is critical for developing in students the ability to evaluate themselves and see themselves in relation to others. Once a part of the inner circle, a student quickly becomes involved in the critical evaluation of the literature and of faculty and of other students. Many may be overly critical of themselves. This is where sensitivity and good judgment on the part of the mentor is required. It is natural for the student to have doubts, but if there is appropriate optimism and encouragement, candor is an essential ingredient for growth.

My last addition to the list of roles of a mentor is to *keep the responsibility, the power, in the mentee's hands.* As a general rule don't say no, and don't do it for them. This aspect of mentoring is one that I became aware of quite recently as a mentee myself while in a position to make decisions on funding of proposals for research grants. My supervisor might not agree with all the decisions that I forwarded; but rather than target the specific decision, she focused on the justification for it. Thus it was up to me to make a convincing argument or rethink my decision. In either case, I would have to justify my action, and the responsibility was mine. Although she gave me guidance through acceptance or rejection of my justifications, she did not make the choices for me nor take the choices from me; she kept the power in my hands! I believe that the same principle can apply to virtually all advisor/advisee interactions, from discussion on where one should go to graduate school to topics for research to details of writing the manuscript.

Who Should Be a Mentor?

Given the various lists of roles for a mentor, who should be a mentor for the next generation of minority scholars? To paraphrase biblical wisdom, like parent, like child. The mentor should be an exceptional role model for the profession. First of all the person must have courage. S/he must have courage to extend opportunities to talented students whose talents may be masked in the normal application materials. S/he must have courage to take on a student whose background and values may be at variance with the majority of the department. S/he must have courage to face the inevitable difficult decisions and tough forthright discussions that may be needed to see the mentee through. Second, mentors must value scholarship and the intellectual freedom that academia provides. They should have insatiable drive to push back the frontiers of knowledge but also a strong ethic to put talents to work for the good of mankind.

Let me digress to recall that the early seventies saw an improvement in the production of minority scholars that was not sustained through the eighties. I note that the late seven-

ties and early eighties, in contrast to the sixties, have been years of pessimism. The job market was glutted. Funding for research became very, very competitive. In the sciences, at least, the technological explosion made it easier to fall behind by merely not pushing forward fast enough. As it was harder to keep up, it was harder to get grants and harder to stay at the leading edge to get articles published. I will speculate that the pessimism of those years affected professors' enthusiasm about promoting their own profession to bright undergraduates and hopeful graduate students. New minority faculty, along with the rest, were struggling for survival. Many survived in spite of being pulled in all directions by countless committees; but many fell short of becoming exceptional role models for the profession. We must turn around the pessimism. We should point not to the barriers before the budding minority scholars, but to the challenges that lie ahead of them and to the inner satisfaction that they will have as the intellectual vanguard of the twenty-first century.

To return to the question "Who should be a mentor for minority students?" we should also ask whether it is imperative or merely desirable for a mentor to be of the same race and gender as the mentee. My conclusion is that the dissertation advisor and closest person to the mentee does not have to be of the same race or gender but that the other qualities that I have listed are far, far more critical. The strongest, best supported faculty should be encouraged to take up the challenge of shaping the future in very profound ways, by ensuring that the next generation of scholars is representative of the diversity of our citizenry. Some of those mentors will be minorities but many will not. Merely being of a particular race or gender does not ensure that one will be among the strongest dissertation advisors.

We should not expect the small community of minority scholars to bear the entire burden of mentoring the next generation as dissertation advisors. Moreover, there are other activities besides guiding the actual dissertation which are critical, which also cry out for action by minority faculty and which point to the urgent need for minority representation in our institutions today. One important activity is to convince our non-minority colleagues that the education of all elements of our society is their responsibility too. They may need help as well as prodding to develop the desire and the sensitivity to take on minority students. Institutional disincentives must be removed. Minorities can be role models and still advise students to work with other appropriate faculty. They can continue to give the kind of support which is an essential component of mentoring even though the student is making connections elsewhere.

Model Programs

Since nothing succeeds like success, programs that provide opportunities for students to experience the joy of discovery, and a taste of success in a potential professional area, should be encouraged. We should advocate the extension to other disciplines the models provided by the Minority Biomedical Research Support and Minority Access to Research Careers Programs of the National Institutes of Health. These programs provide funding to encourage participation in biomedical research by minority undergraduates, often with minority investigators. Although our current reward system may not recognize the work involved in such relationships, it is an effort that we expect of those dedicated to the principle of equal participation in our chosen profession. Some of us may be at the front lines of scholarship; others of us will be right behind, pushing and supporting.

Above all, we as minority individuals must continue a relentless pursuit of scholarship. We must help and encourage each other in those endeavors. If we continually strive to fulfill our own dreams and professional goals while continuing to express our own personal and, therefore, cultural values, we are bound to be good role models for our fellow faculty and for the next generation of minority scholars.

WORK GROUP II REPORT

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ISSUE II

What is the mentor's role, and how can faculty play that role effectively to increase the success rate of African American, American Indian, and Latino scholars-in-the-making?

Current enrollment figures in the mid-1980's suggest a decline in the number of Blacks in graduate school, with modest increases for Hispanics and continuing low numbers of American Indians. Factors influencing minority students to pursue graduate study and institutional decisions regarding admissibility are only the beginning of graduate study. Progress in one's academic course of study, kinds and levels of financial support, integration within the norms, values and goals of one's disciplines and faculty mentoring are critical to graduate school completion and career mobility. Faculty mentoring is the focus of this paper.

Our examination of faculty mentorship will be drawn from three perspectives: (1) the institution's role (2) the student's role and (3) the faculty member's role. Professor James

E. Blackwell's well-written and instructive paper, "Faculty Roles in Mentoring Minority Students," provides the basis from which we analyze the mentoring process and make some recommendations to the higher education community about mentoring minority and graduate students. (We note here that strategies and recommendations delineated by this group to improve the success rate of minorities would also benefit non-minority graduate students.)

In this paper, we describe the range of the problems in minority student mentoring, provide some analysis of those problems, and then suggest some strategies and action lines to deal with the issue.

It is well understood that faculty members are extremely important in the academic and professional life of a graduate student. Equally acknowledged and well-documented in James Blackwell's paper is the pronounced underrepresentation of ethnic minority graduate students and faculty on college campuses. A look at the demographic projections for this country over the next two decades reinforces the urgency to address the issue of underrepresentation, as more of our population will be comprised of racial/ethnic minorities. It is projected that by the turn of the century two of our most populous states, California and New York, will have more ethnic minorities than white citizens. The United States as a whole will have close to a third of its citizens as ethnic minorities. Who then will be in our colleges and universities? Who will teach and train these young and inquiring minds? In the best interests of all Americans we need to address this problem.

Role Distinctions

Careful consideration should be given to the distinctions made among the various roles that faculty members play in the lives of graduate students. There are a number of terms commonly used to describe the relationship between faculty and graduate student, such as advisor, sponsor, role model, mentor, etc. Our perspective is that mentoring distinguishes itself from the other terms in that it is a process by which a person of higher rank, special achievements and prestige, instructs, counsels, guides and then facilitates the intellectual and/or career development of a person identified as a protegÇ or mentee. We feel that the relationship should be a reciprocal one of "give and take" between the mentor and protegÇ. The protegÇ should be treated as a colleague.

Ideally, the academic or thesis advisor should serve as a mentor. The academic advisor is the person who is responsible for attending to the administrative needs of the graduate student, i.e., class registration information, requirements for the degree examination schedule, financial support, examination committee, courses to take, etc. A sponsor usually refers to the person or organization that provided financial support to the student from outside the institution or department. Role models are people that the student admires and/or would like to emulate.

Mentors are persons who are presumed to be endowed with much more distinguishable characteristics and the relationship with graduate students is more dynamic and involved than the other terms. Professor James Blackwell describes what can be considered as the ideal functions of a mentor. These sixteen functions include such items from providing training for students, stimulating the acquisition of knowledge, providing needed information about educational programs to enhancing the protege's career.

Very few faculty members are able to carry out all of Blackwell's sixteen functions of a mentor but, for our purposes, we would suggest that the sixteen functions should be printed and distributed to all faculty members as a guide in assisting them to be complete and successful mentors.

Mentoring and Graduate Studies: An Analysis

We believe that all ethnic minority graduate students should have a mentor in order to receive the full benefit of a graduate education. Further, some may have "multiple" mentors as well as different mentors at different stages of academic and career development. The idea of multiple mentors seems to be most appropriate for those persons who have special needs or concerns in a number of different areas, i.e., a mentor for academic and career concerns and a different mentor for spiritual, social, and personal concerns, etc. While the complexity of the process has been discussed in Prof. Blackwell's paper, an analysis of the mentoring process will provide some insights as to how the quality and availability of mentoring affects the retention and success of minority graduate students.

The role of mentoring and the extent of faculty involvement will be influenced by the norms, values and missions of the university. Socialization of faculty within the academy can either reinforce the importance of faculty mentoring in the "production" of scholars or reduce faculty commitment to mentoring. To some degree, an individual's orientation to mentoring will be influenced by his/her own graduate experience and the norms, values, and structures designed for the preparation and training of scholars.

Variations in the mentoring role seem to be differentiated between physical/natural sciences and the humanities and social sciences. A more structured and marked course of study, with established components of sponsorship, guided research experiences, training beyond the doctorate seems to characterize the graduate education process for students in the sciences. In order to understand the role of mentoring and its structures, such field/discipline distinctions need to be incorporated.

The incorporation of graduate students within a mentoring process requires not only individual faculty attention but the support of administrators, support staff, and other colleagues. For example, given the breadth of mentoring functions, the performance of specific mentoring activities may be performed by counselors, graduate secretarial staff, or faculty in other fields than the student's. Formal and institutional discussions and/or policies regarding mentoring are rarely the systematic focus of faculty. If mentoring remains an individual and idiosyncratic phenomenon, the issue of effective mentoring and consensus as to its importance will not be realized. It

appears that mentoring is both a concept and process to which faculty give some recognition and understanding; but the latitude of interpretation and action can have the net effect of producing uneven and dissatisfying results for a significant portion of the graduate student population.

The interaction of minority students with faculty is further complicated by the paucity of minority faculty. Cultural and value differences between students of color and predominantly while male faculties can create misunderstandings, misrepresentations, knowledge voids of the racial/ethnic experience, and communication barriers. These additional factors can produce greater obstacles for effective mentoring. Previous studies indicate that where students and mentors are of the same gender or ethnic group, the mentoring relationship is likely to be more productive/satisfying for both. The size and distribution of the minority faculty pool in the academy do not allow very many matches of this kind, so that mentoring responsibilities must be taken on by the majority faculty. For this reason, cultural knowledge and sensitivity to racial/ethnic minorities must be imparted to faculty. Stimulating greater numbers of faculty members to serve as mentors will require leadership, direction, and commitment of the faculty and other participants within the university. A re-examination of the socialization process of graduate education may illuminate the extent to which mentoring is integrated into the planned development of scholars.

A major component of mentoring is the human dimension of extending oneself to the student to convey trust, respect, and caring. Experiences within Historically Black Institutions (HBI's) indicate that a nurturing, supportive environment plays a major role in facilitating the academic progress and satisfaction of black students. How to incorporate these characteristics of HBI's into predominantly white institutions warrants more serious consideration and discussion.

In this brief discussion of the structural and personal factors that influence the nature and extent of mentoring within graduate schools, it is clear that institutional examination of the mentoring process, deliberate faculty commitment to the process and institutional reinforcement mechanisms for mentoring have been and will continue to influence the quantity and quality of minority participation in graduate education.

Mentoring Strategies and Recommendations

Our previous discussion of the mentoring process and the imperative for effective mentoring for all graduate students leads us to some discussion as to what approaches and how segments of the University community can play a significant part in improving the mentoring process. We recognize the variations within institutions of higher education, different fields and specific minority group populations such that our discussion of strategies represent positive directions which will require further specification and adaptations. Nevertheless, we have chosen to delineate three distinct segments or actors for which strategies have been formulated. They are: 1) administrators; 2) students and 3) faculty. Each has a different role and relationship within graduate education.

Administrator's and Institutional Responses

Institutional recognition and "valuing" of mentoring needs to be prominently displayed by both words and deeds of the major administrative decision-makers. Consistency is an imperative. The institutionalization of mentoring can be evidenced by allocation of resources, formal recognition of mentors, and the establishment of meaningful reward systems.

Another institutional activity that can be initiated is the holding of faculty workshops on mentoring. This would require the identification of successful mentors within the institution and soliciting their leadership in conducting the workshop. Also, there could be faculty exchanges with similarly situated persons in minority institutions to broaden faculty perspectives on the minority experience.

An institutional/departmental policy on mentoring is critical. Once a policy on mentoring is articulated and disseminated, procedures for implementation must be drawn to fit the requirements of each unit. We recommend that the Council of Graduate Schools and the Association of Graduate Schools publish a document to be distributed to Graduate Deans and other administrators.

A valuable resource to utilize in the mentoring process are emeritus faculty members. For example, at the University of Michigan, these faculty advise students as to the career possibilities, survival skills, and learning about their disciplines. In a similar manner, emeritus faculty could be called upon to serve as official mentors to a number of minority students. They could also play the role of a liaison with the graduate school to oversee and report on departmental affirmative action efforts.

Two other program suggestions deal more with early identification and contact with undergraduates and/or new graduate students and faculty. One is the development of undergraduate research grants that require the collaboration of a student and a faculty mentor. Such early research experiences encourage faculty contact and student exposure to post-baccalaureate training. A second recommendation is that "social" events which bring together interested faculty, administrators and minority students be organized to break down barriers of position and official role. It would be expected that the minority students would inform, educate and voice their perceptions, expectations, and views of campus life as a starting point from which to establish favorable faculty-student relations.

The final recommendation for administrators is that a monitoring system be established in which accountability for the mentoring process is defined and operationalized. In this manner, the outcomes of mentoring, achievements of the students, and activities are recorded for evaluation. Institutional data-keeping and analysis allow for proactive behaviors to further improve the mentoring process or rectify problem areas.

How Students Influence the Graduate Experience

Much has been said about the reciprocal nature of a mentor- protege relationship. The following set of recommendations reflect an effort to have graduate students play an active

role in shaping and improving the mentoring process. We envision an increased understanding of graduate education in general and mentoring in particular resulting from the collaborative efforts of students, faculty and administrators in the production of an informational booklet or brochure. The publication should contain information about objectives, goals, outcomes and benefits/costs of graduate education, support programs and personnel, characteristics of the institution, etc. The primary objective is to present a comprehensive and accurate portrayal of graduate education so that the student can make informed judgments and have realistic expectations about their graduate studies. Within this document, there should be some concrete and direct discussion about mentoring.

An additional document that needs to be produced on each campus is a series of statements that outline the rights, responsibilities and "privileges" that every graduate student possesses. The "rules of the game" should be clarified and articulated to protect the interests of all concerned.

Another student-focused activity is the development of annual graduate student orientation sessions, at which services, personnel, programs are introduced to ensure that human relationships develop early as this is a critical component of successful graduate education. Students should play an important role in planning and participating in the orientation.

We encourage increased minority student participation in graduate student organizations and/or the creation of minority graduate organizations to serve as advocacy groups on behalf of minority interests. This type of organization can serve to activate and stimulate peer support.

The Graduate Dean should create a minority graduate advisory committee to provide critiques and suggestions, and be involved in the recruitment and retention of fellow graduate students. We see active minority graduate students as a valuable resource for positively influencing their retention rates.

Students should be encouraged, particularly by other students, to "tap" into the graduate student culture in order to find out about departmental norms and expectations, and the styles, biases of specific faculty as well. In other words, students should help each other to progress successfully in graduate school. Overall, a goal of student empowerment could help to strengthen the faculty-student relationship so that independence of thought, creativity, and collegiality might be further advanced. Examples of empowering activities might include: active and effective graduate student organizations; acquiring resource funds for distribution to the graduate student community; generating funds for conference attendance, setting up emergency loan programs; and placing students on faculty search committees. Finally, the thrust of these recommendations is to reinforce the joint responsibility of students and faculty to create a hospitable and stimulating academic environment.

What Must Be Done

The mentoring process requires faculty to exhibit respect, honesty, and interest in promoting the intellectual development of all graduate students. Department Chairs should engage faculty in serious and focused discussions about the goals of mentoring. If precise definition can be given to the mentoring role of faculty within their department, there is a greater likelihood that specific mentor-protege pairing will reflect that consensus making the relationship more productive. The department chair and/or graduate advisor should designate or solicit senior members of the faculty to assume the role of a mentor for minority students. The behavior exhibited by senior faculty in assuming this role reinforces the value placed on mentoring and weaves the process into the fabric of the total graduate experience. The natural/physical science model of sponsorship throughout a graduate student's "career" should be examined by social science and humanities faculties for possible incorporation into their graduate programs. From the point of admission, or even in recruitment, faculty should be encouraged to "sponsor" students and assume greater responsibility for their welfare.

Consistent with functions of graduate mentoring, faculty should see themselves as "talent scouts" identifying those undergraduates with potential to pursue advanced degrees and encouraging them in every way. Finally, with an understanding of the role distinctions between an adviser and a mentor, faculty can become active participants in devising fair, accurate and valid measures of effective advising and mentoring and agree to apply these standards to their peer evaluation procedures for promotion and tenure. The importance we attach to this role cannot be over emphasized, and we urge that it be promoted through professional organizations, as well as on the campus.

Mentoring: Concluding Statements

Understanding that mentoring is an institutional responsibility, we acknowledge the roles that various participants play to insure that mentoring is a critical part of the graduate education process. Steps must be taken to insure that policies and practices do not produce counterproductive results. For example, administrative efforts to increase the participation of minorities in graduate schools have yielded special financial aid packages, counseling, support services, and the like. At the same time, some of these programs have served to segregate or isolate the minority student from full integration into the graduate education process, and potentially jeopardize their successful completion. It is imperative that faculty and administrators collaborate in mapping effective strategies to ensure that African American, American Indians, and Latino students thrive.

Acknowledgments

This paper reflects the collective views of several distinguished faculty members, graduate deans, and senior-level administrators, as well as a number of minority graduate students who analyzed in considerable depth how much more successful African American, American Indian, and Latino scholars can be if they encounter an improved and effective faculty-graduate student mentoring relationship.

ISSUE 3

Canons and Boundries of Scholarship

INTRODUCTION

How can faculty members work within disciplinary fields to enlarge the canons and boundaries of scholarship so as to include the interests, concerns and characteristics of minority people?

Some assumptions

There is much about the practice of scholarship, and the definition of fields of inquiry, which is arbitrary and conventional, determined more by historical accident than by factors essential to a given discipline itself. In the normal development of a discipline, its canons and boundaries are continually shifting in response to the work of living scholars or to events in the surrounding knowledge community or beyond it.

It is therefore appropriate to expect that, if the academy is to reach African Americans, American Indians and Latinos, it will have to accept challenges to those thresholds and definitions which may be excluding them unnecessarily—whether these be matters of method, content, focus, timing, form or any other taken-for-granted standard. To expect such changes is not to look for less effective scholarship but rather for fresh perspectives and broader-based inquiry.

Some initial questions

When, where and how have awareness of non-Western histories or cultures created new frontiers of research and scholarship, bringing about transformations in method, theory or epistemology within disciplines?

Are there recent changes within scholarly disciplines that reflect awareness of non-Western histories and cultures? (This question may benefit from comparisons with the recent impact upon scholarship of women's studies.)

How are individual faculty members, departments and institutions involved in the definition and evaluation of scholarship?

What are the processes of scholarly publication, and how do they influence what is studied, what is published, how and by whom? Is there a relationship between the source of research funding and the likelihood of publication?

Must minority scholars conform in their research to white male norms in order to gain succeed as academics? One noted black researcher was once heard to advise, "Do the white boy's research until you get tenure, then you go do your own." Are there strategies which enable minority scholars both to maintain integrity and be professionally successful?

Can you suggest:

- ways to encourage faculty to examine their disciplines and consider what additions could reflect the interests, concerns and characteristics of minority people?
- how faculty members, who work in fields whose standards are set in disciplinary associations and through peer action, can contribute to broadening "canons and boundaries" without themselves becoming "outsiders" in their own fields?

The foregoing statements and questions are based on work of the National Advisory Council in preparation for the Conference.

COMMUNICENTRIC FRAMES OF REFERENCE IN THE PURSUIT OF SCHOLARSHIP:

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE PRODUCTION OF KNOWLEDGE AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF MINORITY SCHOLARS

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For several years now we have been concerned with the underrepresentation of Third World peoples, particularly African Americans, among the leading contributors to knowledge production and scholarly work. I have directed or participated in several of the fellowship programs for young minority scholars. For three years we lead the task force concerned with the relevance of the social sciences to the African-American experience. This paper has been greatly influenced by the work of that group. I have written on aspects of this problem and have spent countless hours in consultations where minority representation in world scholarship has been the subject of our discussions. We have come to realize that this is an extremely complex problem which will not lend itself to simple solutions. Today we want to talk about four of the issues which make solutions hard to come by and to point toward some strategies which may ultimately reduce the problem. We despair of hope that the problem can be eliminated.

(1) As our title suggests, the pursuit of scholarship must be understood within the communicentric frames of reference which dominate and enable it. (2) It is important that we recognize that knowledge, technology and scholarship are cultural products and not culture-free phenomena. (3) We will argue that communicentric and economic hegemony have enabled the development of phenomenal scientific, theoretical and technological achievements, but that the same hegemony is a constraining, distorting and limiting force which compromises the contribution and participation of Third World peoples. This same communicentric and economic hegemony also leads to the distortion of the knowledge it seeks to produce and apply. (4) We will remind you that the problem is not only rooted in these external forces but that we Third World people are a part of the problem, as Brother Malcolm would say, because "we have not gotten our act together to become a part of the solution." Too much of our behavior is simply dysfunctional. We will not pretend to have the solution to the problem of underrepresentation of African American, Latin American and Native American scholars in the academy, but we do have some practical suggestions and a reconceptualization of purpose which may help us to become a part of the solution. You will note that our reference is to the social sciences, but much of our argument is relevant for other areas of scholarship as well.

False "Universals"

The social sciences consist of those disciplines primarily concerned with understanding the nature of and the relationships between human behavior and the social systems by which it is expressed. Traditionally, these sciences have been characterized by the examination of the relationship between social experience and the development and manifestations of individual, group and systemic characteristics. A long tradition in these sciences is the incessant search for universal principals by which these relationships may be explained. Scientists working in this tradition look for principles or invest their notions with multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, nongender-specific and multi-contextual applications.

Although there are some common denominators across all human experiences and groups, there is reason to believe that an overemphasis on the search for universals has been, at the very least, premature, if not mistaken. Indeed, in some cases, the search for universals has inhibited, rather than enhanced, the enrichment of social science knowledge. Despite the long history of this concern with the relationships between experience, behavior and system, insufficient attention has been given to the impact of unique cultural, ethnic or gender experiences on the development of behavior and the social systems by which behavior is expressed. This neglect is probably the result of androcentric, culturocentric, and ethnocentric chauvinism manifested in the Euro-American and male-dominated social sciences. (Stanfield, 1985) These factors, in turn, have sometimes resulted in knowledge production and utilization with negative consequences for the life experiences of those groups which have been inappropriately represented as well, as for the fuller development of social science knowledge. Knowledge about Afro-Americans and the treatment of this group in the social sciences are cases in point. In his Souls of Black Folk, DuBois

poignantly wrote concerning this issue:

It is a peculiar sensation, this double consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness, an American, a Negro; two souls,two thoughts, two unreconciled striving; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder. (DuBois, 1903)

Limitations of Objectivity and Empiricism Serious examination of the social science knowledge base relative to African-Americans indicates that the social sciences have attempted traditionally to understand the life experiences of socially diverse groups through a narrow culturo/ethnocentric perspective and against an equally narrow culturo/ethnocentric standard. Thus, the issue of cultural and ethnic diversity has been incompletely or inadequately assessed and has insufficiently influenced knowledge production. The problem becomes compounded when we recognize that many of the core propositions upon which the social sciences rest, such as objectivity, positivism, and empiricism, are culture-bound and, therefore, are potentially more limited in their explanatory usefulness than is generally presumed.

As available knowledge expands and our technology for generating and processing this knowledge increases and becomes more intricate, we gain in our appreciation of its complexities and finite nature. In various ways, critiques of the social sciences have reminded us that knowledge is not only socially validated consensus, but is problematic, that theories have situational and temporal utility, and that many commonly observed relationships are not universal. Specifically, such critiques have called into question the traditional epistemologies, theories and methods of the various social sciences in such a way as to challenge naturalistic, *a priori* assumptions about knowledge development and application and thus, to reveal social science knowledge as a problematic phenomenon. (Berger and Luckman, 1966; Hymes, 1974, and Sullivan, 1984)

Social Science as Cultural/Ethnic Products

On this general level of criticism, there has been little discussion as to how the social sciences, as cultural and ethnic products, shape the cognitive parameters of issues such as concept formation, the election of methods and the development of theories. To the extent that the issue has been addressed, there rarely has been an effort to explore how the cultural and ethnic identities of the producers and utilizers of social science knowledge influence the generation of fallacious, or at least distorted, yet-to-be-validated paradigms with truncated explicatory power. Block, (1976); Gouldner, (1970); Taylor (1971); Gergen, (1973). Yet, the same paradigms inform the production of new social science knowledge.

Some researchers have begun to address the problem. For instance, Gilligan (1977) has found that sex-role socialization influences moral development in ways that call into question the universality of the widely accepted theory of moral development advanced by Kohlberg. Similarly, Banks, McQuater, and Hubbard (1979) have suggested that socialization experiences that adhere to ethno-cultural identity shape the sources of one's motivation and the conditions of gratification delay and thus, challenge traditional concepts of both. Cole and Scribner (1981) have suggested that the assumed functions of literacy in the development of intellect are based more on the cultural value assigned to literacy than on the actual functional impact of literacy on intellectual development. Scriven and Von Wright (1971) have examined in a philosophical context the manner in which the epistemological basis of current approaches to the social sciences has shaped the concern, methods and products of those sciences. Implicit in these lines of work and thought is the notion that the relative magnitude or strength of a social variable may be more a function of the stimulus characteristics that are attributed or adhere to the variable than to the variable itself. Obviously, the attributional character of the stimulus is also a cultural product.

Varying Variables The above-mentioned formulations and other emerging notions grow out of social science research that challenges the traditional nations of situation and population universality concerning the relationships between independent and dependent variables. We are led to conclude that variables may have different characteristics, different meanings, and different impacts for persons whose life experiences are different and whose attributions may be idiosyncratic to their positions in life. For example, gender, culture, ethnicity and social class are increasingly understood to influence the mechanisms by which the behaviors are developed and consequently, the theories by which they are explained.

It is our contention that the diversity in the characteristics and experiences of human populations makes the study of human behavior subject to explanations that are relevant to the cultural and experiential context in which the behaviors are developed, expressed and investigated. It is understandable that those who produce knowledge, as well as those who utilize it, will seek paradigms and theories that are as stable and broadly generalizable as is possible, since it is difficult to manage realities that are perceived as constantly changing and that have narrow reference points.

However, in 1905 and 1915 respectively, Albert Einstein advanced the theories of special and general relativity. The scientific community was shocked by the simplicity of the notion and the complexity of its implications. The theories proposed that everything except the speed of light is relative to the context in which and instrumentation by which it is measured, and no relationship can be considered to be absolute or definitive. With the introduction of Einstein's theories of relativity, the issues of precision and generalizability in the physical sciences had to be addressed. Physical scientists observed that the variance implicit in a relativistic approach to most of their work was so slight that many existing physical science paradigms remained unchanged. Those scientists working at the atomic and molecular levels, however, noticed

that none of their work could proceed without being influenced by the concept of relativity.

Relativity and Social Scientific Bias It is unclear just how the social sciences can and should mirror the physical sciences in their conceptual and investigative efforts. However, since the basic components of human behavior function more like molecules than like chemical elements, units of energy or objects of mass, it appears that the same conception of relativity may be useful in the understanding of human behavior. Relativity in human behavior is especially likely to apply when the population under investigation is diverse in its characteristics and life conditions.

Given that human populations are diverse, the manner in which social scientists approach the understanding of behavior is greatly influenced by the theoretical position held by the researcher with respect to the genesis of patterned behavior. That is, explication of human behavior is dependent on the investigator's interpretation of the origins of the behavior, the values placed on the behavior and the behaving persons, as well as on the interpretation of the behavior itself. Thus, theoretical propositions and laws are not value free. The questions and problems of interest to the investigator generally reflect the theoretical bias of the investigator.

If theories in the social sciences are not value free, can it be assumed that there are no universals in human behavior? One must answer "no" to this questions. There are some structures, processes, and potentials that are common to the human species; therefore, it is likely that behaviors typical of members of the species can be found. For example, language is a universal human phenomenon; however, the way in which the social environment influences thinking and reasoning associated with language is cultural phenomenon. The "universal" validity of a language for thinking and reasoning is, thus limited to the cultural sphere in which it occurs, because inspection of the concept of language, and the claims associated with language, can take place only within a context such as membership in a particular culture where people experience and reason alike.

The above analysis implies that theories of behavior, for example, may be divided into two categories: a projective (universalist) category and an interactive (relativist) category. The projective category of behavior theory posits the notion that predetermined, intrinsic patterns of behavior are released when stimulated and then projected onto the environment, where their specific form is either facilitated or inhibited. The major hypothesis of proponents of the projectionist view is that intrinsic drive states exist prior to and are independent of life experiences. The intrinsic drive states are the basic forces in the determination of behavior. Capacities and traits determined by these intrinsic states can only be somewhat modified by the environment. The fundamental character of patterned behavior is seen as genetically established and bound. In this formulation, the notion of universalism is basic to the understanding of common human behaviors.

The second category, the interactive category implies a relativistic approach to the study of the relationship between the organism and the environment. Interaction between the organism and the environment is proposed as the critical component in the molding of patterned organismic functions. Temporal and situational phenomena are regarded as causal and mediating agents rather than as releasers (as in the projective view). All organized patterned behaviors are seen to exist only as a result of sensory input from interaction of the organism with the environment. Behavioral potentials are said to be genetically seeded in the sense that the organism includes structural and electrochemical responsivity. Such responsivity is largely determined by the nature of the genes, but the behavioral patterns, characteristics and quality of functions are determined by interactions between the organism and the environment, with the nature of these interactions being critical to the genesis of organized behavior. In other words, interactionists propose that human behavior is a product of the interaction of the organism and the environment, thereby making the explanation or interpretation of human behavior more subject to culture-related analysis.

Paradigms: Problems and Promise

Social scientists use paradigms as a means by which to discuss universalism. However, paradigms are subject to some of the same value-laden biases as theories. Paradigms are also subject to the changing nature of cultures. When paradigms are no longer adequate to explain behavior, especially for a specific population (e.g., Blacks, women), alternative explanations for understanding the behavior of members in those groups must be generated. According to Kuhn (1970), when extreme "anomalies" occur and cannot be explained within the existing paradigm, new paradigms should be actively considered and eventually chosen to replace the existing paradigm. When the process of choosing a new paradigm entails a radical alteration of extant conceptions, however, conservative investigators within the scientific community may resist the changes. Consequently, most challenges to prevailing paradigms are either totally rejected or ignored. Nonetheless, some investigators persevere in their attempts to explain, predict and understand culturally-determined behavior within specific out-groups. ("Culturally-determined behavior" presupposes culture as a universal construct, but let us not pursue that epistemological question at this time.)

In examining alternative paradigms in the social sciences, some understanding of the notion of paradigms is necessary. Since the validity of the concept (paradigm) as a model of scientific process has been questioned, it may be difficult to understand fully the nature of a paradigm. Some of the criticisms that have been leveled at Kuhn's notion of a paradigm have pointed out the vagueness that surrounds the concept. For example, a paradigm is posited as the particular possession of a "scientific community"; however, since "communities " may exist on a number of levels, the distinction between a paradigm and the theories that may belong to a subfield become hazy. Similarly, it is unclear exactly what the

paradigm itself actually consists of. Kuhn defines paradigms as never being fully articulated, and new paradigms as being fundamentally different, which makes it difficult to discern the difference between a true anomaly (which challenges a paradigm) and simple variations between perspectives within a paradigm.

Perhaps the most problematic aspect of the notion of paradigms is the boundary between "group licensed" and "objective" facts. Kuhn (1970) proposes that the development of science is molded in large part by factors (e.g., political considerations, personal beliefs, technology) outside the realm of "objective" facts. Thus, objective facts are only one aspect of scientific considerations. The other aspect is cultural relativity.

The idealism and relativism evident in Kuhn's scientific thesis are the most troubling aspects for many social scientists. However, the notions of idealism and relativism hold the most promise for those social scientists who suspect or recognize inadequacies in traditional scientific perspectives. The simple force of data will not be enough to sway scientific institutions; radically different perspectives on scientific questions need not be dismissed solely on the grounds of their uniqueness. Traditional underlying assumptions must be questioned for the sake of valid scientific inquiry. A challenge to a particular paradigm, then, may include the re-orientation of that paradigm to accommodate strange but relevant phenomena as well as the indication of external constraints and biases that inhibit the proper implementation of standard methods of procedure.

Since paradigms are but the schemata of theories, it is our contention that paradigms are by no means permanent, and are useful so long as they permit adequate explanation of the phenomenon in question. Like theories, when paradigms lack explanatory power or otherwise fail, they are replaced.

Obviously, paradigms that resist successful challenge live longer and also may have more adequate explanatory power. In pursuit of such paradigms and theories, traditional knowledge production has been concerned with the systematic description of natural phenomena, the development of taxonomies by which the descriptive data can be classified, the discovery of lawful relationships or of notions concerning their interrelatedness, and the development of general theories or paradigms by which the behavior of natural phenomena or the relational character of their components or metacomponents can be explained. In North America and Europe, some of these efforts have been dominated by the pursuit of generic or universalistic theories to the neglect of relativistic or situation-specific theories. Yet, it seems clear that with respect to some questions, paradigms are more likely to endure (i.e., are closer to representations of truth), may demand the generic while other questions may require the relative resolution. Let us look at some examples of efforts at developing alternative paradigms.

Addressing the Inadequacy of a Paradigm Kuhn (1970) suggests that one of the most important functions of any paradigm is the provision of model problems and solutions for those who work within the paradigm. Through the study of these model problems, a student of a paradigm can observe that particular paradigm's perspective for viewing relationships between phenomena. Anomalies that give rise to challenges to paradigms become apparent when answers provided by the paradigm are inadequate for understanding valid but novel (different) relationships. When anomalies occur, new conceptualizations and formulations of relationships are required. This is the set of circumstances that characterized the development of a different theory of moral development for women. (Gilligan, 1977)

In a reconceptualization of Kohlberg's theory of moral development (1964), Gilligan (1977) interviewed 29 women, who were in the process of deciding whether or not to have an abortion, to determine if the course of moral development in women differed from that in men. Gilligan found that the course of moral development for women was different from the course of moral development posited by Kohlberg. According to Gilligan, the basic core of female morality consists of connection, nurturance, and avoidance of hurt (compassion), thereby making the completion of Kohlberg's highest stages of moral development less desirable and less relevant for women. According to Kohlberg, separation, independence, and rights form the core for males.

Unlike Kohlberg's paradigm of moral development, Gilligan's does not attempt to make universal claims about human moral development. Rather, she suggests that the relativity of the gender-related theories makes them complementary. It would seem that systematic investigation of a phenomenon in different cultural contexts and from different value perspectives in this case leads to complementary conclusions and adds to knowledge about the phenomenon.

Methodological Inadequacies in Paradigms The resemblance relations derived from standard social science paradigms for the purpose of seeing similarities between phenomena are often inappropriately applied to black Americans as well as to women. This results in the improper labeling of the performance of Blacks as "deficient" without consideration of alternative explanations. Banks, McQuater and Hubbard (1979) suggest that many of the observed differences between Blacks and Whites, especially in the area of achievement motivation, are more the result of methodological inadequacies than of essential differences.

According to Banks, McQuater and Hubbard, previous research on the achievement orientation of Blacks has failed to adjust properly or otherwise control for differences in the subjects' intrinsic interest in a given task. Patterns of exposure to reinforcers differ from group to group, thus enabling discrepancies to develop between groups as to what is valuable and, therefore, will sustain effort. Furthermore, the appropriateness of particular values, expectancies and interests may be moderated by prior experience or the immediate social environment. For example, it might be that the rewards of a given task are not strong enough for a black person to affect

his/her academic achievement. Or, social influences such as a white experimenter or teacher may convey the message that high achievement is inappropriate for Blacks in the particular setting, thereby producing the same effect of depressed achievement motivation for the black individual. Instead of holding the stimulus constant, it is the interest power of the stimulus that should be held constant, thus avoiding the error of methodological inconsistency.

Poorly or Incompletely Examined Paradigms

Unexamined or poorly examined assumptions often underlie paradigms. Radical differences between paradigms (referred to as their "incommensurability" by Kuhn) are based on complex interactions of objective facts and assumptions, "group-licensed" facts and assumptions or findings of questionable validity used to support a particular paradigm.

Cole and Scribner (1981) propose that the assumptive foundations of some paradigms may not be strong enough to support a majority of the propositions that have derived from them. For instance, they question whether academic learning or literacy, per se, has broad consequences for the development of cognitive capacities for analytical and abstract thought, memory and other psychological functions.

Cole and Scribner administered an ethnographic survey, standard interviews and performance measures to members of the Vai culture in the Pacific southwest to examine the effects of schooling and literacy among the Vai. It was found that schooling and literacy do facilitate performance on some tasks. The researchers found that subjects' schooling was related to ability to explain performance and to present material verbally. However, there were many tasks for which schooling had little or no effect, e.g., the primacy of age in memory performance and of urbanization in the classifying of objects. This pattern of performance was attributed to the practice of verbal explanations in formal classroom settings. The beneficial effects of literacy were limited to areas in which the benefits gained from writing, for example, could be transferred.

Cole and Scribner contend that it is important to note that while non-literates did not perform as well on the dependent measures, there were no instances where non-literates were all out-performed by the literates, and no generalizable disadvantage was found for non-literacy. Thus, literacy should not be considered a necessary or sufficient condition for development of many components of intellect, desirable as literacy may be for other purposes. However, it would appear that the experiences of the Vais do function within that culture and thus are adequate for the development of the necessary intellectual competence.

What Is Culture?

In the attempt to explain potential problems with assuming universality in theories and paradigms, the concept of culture has been frequently mentioned. Culture is a concept with a wide variety of definitions. It is an abstraction. Perhaps interpretations of culture may vary widely because culture is constituted of collective customs inferred from behavioral patterns. The fact that the patterns are transmitted by symbols renders language and the communicative structure of a social unit of paramount importance to the understanding of a culture.

Investigators such as Berry (1951) treat culture as both an incidentally and directly learned behavior: "We are born ignorant and helpless into a group.... We proceed immediately to imitate and acquire these `group habits' of thought, feeling and behavior; and the members of the group, at the same time, set about to indoctrinate us with those behavior patterns which they regard as right, proper, and natural." Other investigators distinguish between "material" and "nonmaterial" aspects of culture. The artifacts, structures and concrete products of a culture are examples of the material culture. The belief systems, attitudes, attributions, and skills, on the other hand, are examples of the nonmaterial culture. In his indices of culture, Tylor (1958) includes "knowledge, beliefs, art, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of a society." Considering these perceptions together, we can discern at least five dimensions of culture:

1. The judgmental or normative dimension, reflecting social standards and values. This dimension would include those behavior patterns which, according to Berry, are regarded as "right, proper, and natural" by people.
2. The cognitive dimension, which relates to social perceptions, conceptions, and attributions, all of which may be thought of as categories of mentation expressed through the medium of language. It therefore involves the communicative functions and structure of a social unit. The cognitive dimension is exemplified by what Berry describes as group habits of thought.
3. The affective dimension, the emotional structure of a social unit. Its common feelings, sources of motivation, joy and sorrow, sense of value also exemplify Berry's group habits of feelings.
4. The skills dimension, signifying those special capabilities people develop to meet the demand of their social and technoeconomic environment. (Ogbu, 1978)
5. The technological dimension, the notion of culture as accumulated artifacts, instrumentation and technique, which includes things that are made and utilized as well as the manner in which they are used.

So far, we have focussed on culture as a set or sets of characteristics. Culture is not only a descriptive concept or, as Harrington (1978) has cautioned, not simply a "product of human action: observe the action and you can label the culture." Culture is also a cause of, and influence upon, human action and therefore must be regarded as an explanatory as well as a descriptive concept. This dual nature of culture is important to the understanding of the concept as a phenomenon and to the use of information concerning culture to inform knowledge production and utilization. Sensitivity to culture as a status determiner is displayed when information on culture is used to describe and identify. Such information

can help in identifying position and and, therefore, to some extent how the person or the group is perceived both within and outside the cultural group. From such information, stereotyped predictions about how a person or group is likely to behave can be made. However, in order to make more accurate predictions and to understand behavior, information is needed about the given culture as a determining phenomenon. It is of concern to know both what the information tells us about status and what it tells us about the consequences of that status for the functioning of the person. How does a particular aspect of culture influence the behavior of a person? What societal capabilities are enabled by the nature of the language? How do specific belief systems influence the patterns of social organization and vice versa? Questions like these tap the ways in which the culture functions to shape individual and group behaviors rather than simply to describe the culture or the status of specific members.

It is the role of culture as a determinant of human behavior that is our special concern here; more specifically, it's role in shaping the behavior of knowledge producers in the social sciences. We have argued that human behavior is largely shaped by social/cultural experiences; that the Euro-American cultural hegemony has made the social sciences biased to favor the values and world view of Caucasian male middle-class persons; that this androcentric, culturocentric and ethnocentric bias may have distorted and limited the social science knowledge base; and we are concerned about the impact of these factors not only on the knowledge base, but also on the careers and work of minority social scientists.

Minority Scholarship in the Social Sciences

Minority scholars are confronted with problems of distortion in the utilization and foci of their efforts. As a result, much of the minority scholar's time is consumed in efforts to refute or neutralize fallacious findings, questionable theories and inappropriate interpretations. Even worse, many minority scholars find themselves in the schizophrenic bind of using ethnocentric paradigms that are generally accepted, but which in the minority scholars' experience and knowledge are invalid.

This counter-establishment work is frustrating and often unrewarding. It can even lead to counter-rewards and attack. Yet, as Stephen J. Gould has reminded us, correction, perspective broadening, even debunking are positive science. Gould (1981) writes: "Scientists do not debunk only to change and purge. They refute older ideas in the light of a different view about the nature of things." This "different view" may be born of cultural, ethnic or gender-related experience, and, by extension, knowledge in the social sciences is influenced greatly by collective and personal experiences of its producers.

We argue therefore that, particularly in cross-group research, it is in the best interest of knowledge that producers represent, in the experiences they bring to research, diversity comparable to the experiences of the populations that must be studied in order to answer the research questions posed. In many cases, this would mean that investigative teams should include persons who are members of, or intimately familiar with, the groups under investigation. This argument should not be confused with the "outsider vs. insider" debate. (Merton, 1972) We believe that both insiders and outsiders have their respective advantages and disadvantages when they function as researchers. In general, it would be wise to insure that both participate in most studies. In the absence of either, moreover, it is essential that the impact of the limitations imposed by that absence be seriously considered.

The questions posed for research investigation, the methodologies selected, and the interpretations of findings are often influenced by the perspectives with which the investigators approach their work. These perspectives are born of the special experiences of the investigators. Would that experience could render research scientists pristinely objective or universally subjective with respect to perspective. Either condition would be handicapping. But in the absence of both, we argue that the perspective of the investigated and the perspective of the investigator must be accorded the same seriousness of attention in the design, conduct and interpretation of research investigations. This assertion, however, does not argue for equal representation in the design, conduct or interpretation, since scholarly analysis and formal education sometimes do inform perspective more accurately than personal experience. We do argue, though, that the indigenous perspective be recognized and considered and that the design, conduct and interpretation of research be informed by it.

Interactions of Observer and Observed We recognize the dynamic, dialectical and reciprocal nature of knowledge production in the social sciences. Clearly, there is a need for greater symmetry in our understanding of those investigating as well as those being investigated; our concerns both for implications relative to staffing of research projects and for identification of research perspectives speak to this need. We argue that the subjects of our studies are influenced by those who conduct these studies. Moreover, we who investigate should be and often are influenced by those we study. Since both groups may be influenced by the process, and because there is so much diversity as well as similarity within and between them both, effective knowledge production requires greater symmetry in our understanding of both sides rather than our continuing to seek greater distance and more "objectivity". Increasingly, however, due to the abstract quantification and institutionalization of most social science research, this transactional aspect of such work is being neglected and is usually discouraged.

Lack of Baseline Knowledge The state of much of our comparative knowledge in the social sciences is a labile one. Furthermore, we lack adequate data and understanding of the behaviors of the groups we wish to compare, given the tendency for social science knowledge to originate in studies by and of the male European-American. Therefore, we feel that it would be in the best interest of knowledge production

that greater emphasis be given to intragroup studies than to between-group comparisons until these inadequacies are remedied. In particular, we need to know more about subgroups within the black, Hispanic and Native American populations. It may well be that the differences within any one group are greater than the differences between any two. On the other hand, the mechanisms or meanings of their behaviors may be so different as to make comparisons meaningless or easily subject to distortion. Accepted canons of knowledge production require that this idiographic knowledge be generated and that more appropriate taxonomies be developed before we move ahead with further comparisons.

False Assumptions of Homogeneity We recognize that the traditional assumption of homogeneity in populations which has underlain much social science research often camouflages the reality of heterogeneity in human populations. This false assumption, a kind of self-imposed blindness, distorts our findings and our thinking. As a result of the limited attention accorded the issue, there is a lack of understanding of the mechanisms by which some of the behaviors of Blacks, in particular, can be explained. Furthermore, there is an even greater lack of knowledge concerning the meaning of many of these behaviors. All of this works to underscore the importance of the need for intragroup studies. Moreover, it gives emphasis to the need that we examine the differential validity of many extant constructs when they are applied to diverse populations. The works of Hill (1972), Billingslea (1968) and others demonstrate some of the problems encountered when we apply the construct "family" to the black collectivities of relatives. The Cole, Glick, Gay and Sharp work (1971) at least broadens our construct of "intelligence" by the way they use it to refer to the adaptive capacities of a group of rural Nigerian children. The construct "illegitimate" in referring to children born out of wedlock simply is not appropriate in many cultures that are not influenced by European and American Judeo-Christian values.

Nonetheless, we recognize that the assumption of population homogeneity can be useful in pursuing some questions, even though it can be a source of distortion as well. In knowledge production, most assumptions have some utility, even if used as no more than strawpersons to point out fallacies. Problems arise when purpose is not specified and assumptive validity is generalized. It is then that we fail to remember that "a way of seeing is also a way of not seeing." Burke, (1935) When we decide to look at a phenomenon in a particular way, we greatly increase the likelihood that certain features will be revealed and others will be concealed.

Finally, our considerations lead us to recognize a need for additional good descriptive investigations of the behaviors, contexts and development of Blacks and other ethnic minorities. While this work need not be atheoretical, it should be sufficiently empirical and unstructured to be sensitive to factors and relationships that may not have been identified in prior work with minority group subjects. Also, this work should have as its intent the development of such broad and new taxonomies as the realities of the groups' experiences may dictate. But this may not be enough!

Explicit Values In a brilliantly conceived work, *A Critical Psychology*, Edmund Sullivan (1984), recognizing that knowledge production is not value free and cannot be, argues that scientists must make their values explicit and try to understand how much values shape their work. We argue further that, just as establishment scientists have values implicit if not explicit, minority scientists must also clarify their values and, with equal deliberateness, use them in their work. Enough of the claims to "objectivity." If one cannot be objective, let him at least strive to be honest.

Sullivan asserts human emancipation as his guiding value. We join him in doing so, and invite you to do the same. Since much of establishment science seems to be about domination and exploitation, or their justification, we may nave no choice but to be about emancipation.

DuBois spoke of the "liberating" arts and sciences—knowledge as a liberating force. "Liberation" is a value worthy of science, and that should be the perspective from which the minority scientist seeks to advance knowledge, always in the spirit of respect for logical canons and methodological rigor, but for the purpose of emancipating (liberating) the bodies, minds and spirits of humankind.

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INTEGRATION OR TRANSFORMATION:

MINORITY SCHOLARSHIP IN THE HUMANITIES AND ARTS

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It was clear that the black scholar's presence in the United States would be problematic from the days of Reconstruction when W.E.B. DuBois, then an 1890 Harvard alumnus who graduated cum laude, shamed former President Rutherford B. Hayes into granting him a scholarship for Negro men, a prize that Hayes apparently had never intended to award. DuBois later published a definitive analysis of the status of Blacks in this country, a book that still provokes and challenges, and he designed the first extensive study of Black-Americans, thus becoming a pioneer of empiricism in the emerging field of sociology. Yet this outstanding scholarship was often accomplished despite the academy. Its pioneering aspects never earned him a position in a prestigious white college or university. Atlanta University, then a struggling new enclave of scholars, nurtured him, but only to a point; he discovered that the politics of the academy could be as deadly within historically black institutions as within white ones. DuBois's academic life reveals the predictable tension between the intellectual and the academic establishment as well as the special problems confronting minority scholars.

Universities and the Status Quo

"The academy," according to writer Theodore Roszak, "has very rarely been a place of daring. One might perhaps count on the fingers of one hand the eras in which the university has been anything better than the handmaiden of official society, the social club of ruling elites, the training school of whatever functionaries the status quo required."[1] Writing in 1967 about the moral and social crises raised by the Vietnam War, Roszak asked questions that are implicit in this conference agenda. Are intellectual lethargy and careerism

nourished by the very structure, supports, and functions of the academy? Is the academy implicitly elite and therefore resistant to individuals and scholarship that challenge accepted ideas? What is the nature of research institutions charged with the development and preservation of knowledge, and what role do they play in the creation of knowledge and the structuring of various disciplines? These questions are critical to minority scholars, because the answers dictate how and what we study, how we relate to the academy and on what terms. They are also important to non-minority scholars because the answers are a measure of the vitality, honesty and seriousness of the scholars' charge to pursue truth.

In this paper, I will examine some of the ways in which academic institutions validate and shape research and scholarship, suggest some of the reasons why the work of minority scholars remains problematic in this setting, and discuss finally the impact that minority scholarship is beginning to have on the humanities and arts. My focus will be on research-oriented universities, those institutions in which scholarship is most important to a faculty member's career and whose reputations are built, for the most part, on the scholarship of their faculties.

Roszak's indictment of the academy is published in a group of essays which he edited under the title of *The Dissenting Academy*. Although he and his colleagues reflect the intellectual ferment of the Civil Rights and Vietnam years, their critique of various disciplines and the role of universities in shaping them is still relevant. The writers, representing humanities and social science fields, argue that "the learned professions of our society, confronted with the protracted emergency in which our civilization finds itself, have been grossly remiss in meeting any defensible standard of intellectual conscience."[2] We have heaped up "collections of 'knowledge' as an end in itself rather than asking what a scholar's thought and actions have been worth in the defense of civilized values." [3]

University-watchers in the 1980's echo these sentiments, adding that the academy is abandoning its public voice, its sense of obligation to society, with scholars choosing rather to talk to each other in increasingly esoteric jargon, excluding the public from their discourse. Some professors have called for a reassessment of today's scholar; one faculty member reminded his colleagues of Ralph Waldo Emerson's characterization of the scholar as "a good finger, a good neck, an elbow, but never a man"—never a total person engaged in vigorous action in the world. [4]

All of these writers recognize the dangers of institutionalizing knowledge, the tendency and temptation for universities, with their enormous resources and prestige, to opt for the non-controversial, to support the status quo or, at least, those interests most lucrative or those most familiar and least threatening. Much of their criticism, and mine, is directed at our most established means of nurturing scholarship—the tenure and the peer review system—and the perversions that have left it open to ridicule.

The tyranny of tenure threatens to pollute the concept of academic freedom. Originally conceived as a protection from unwarranted political intrusion, today tenure is driven by concerns for job security and desire for intellectual compatibility. Ironically, the peer review system often pressures the young scholar to conform to traditions in the field rather than to risk pushing its parameters. "Original research" is defined more narrowly each year as research questions, especially in the humanities, become more and more parochial and specialized. Discrimination within fields penalizes the scholar for pursuing an unpopular or controversial subject. Sometimes, personality conflicts and competitiveness get in the way of sound judgements, as petty jealousies cloud decision-making. The high calling of the academy can easily be subverted by its own bureaucratic processes that fail to compensate adequately for human fallibility.

The fact that scholars of color rarely enter and "fit" into the academy with ease reveals as much about the nature of the academy as it does about the work of minority scholars. "Tenuring" is tantamount to joining a very exclusive, well-protected fraternity, usually of modest to small size in the humanities and arts. The basis for judging the value of an individual's work lies in the hands of senior colleagues. One's scholarly output is read and judged by department faculty and sent out for review by significant others in the academy. The choice of referents is critical to one's success. A "big name" in the field at a prestigious institution is preferable to even the most careful scholar at a "teaching" institution, and, of course, that "name" should agree with the intellectual point of view of the department. Although department colleagues usually review one's scholarly works when one is up for tenure, the effective scholarly community is national and international, not local. Many of you (like myself) probably know ambitious colleagues who can tell you the minutest details about the streets of London but have practically no contact with the local black or Latino community. Local support for one's work means little. One must have solid references or support from colleagues in elite research institutions around the country and the world.

The necessity to measure intellectual progress and potential leads academic reviewers to require visible, verifiable evidence of scholarly work. In its worst formulation such progress may be determined by the number of papers presented and articles and books published. According to a recent article in *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, "some colleges even use mechanical point systems which encourage sheer quantity over quality," leading to the absurdity of a faculty member receiving points and promotions for articles submitted to a journal, whether published or not, while a colleague with one good article published might be rejected for tenure or promotion.[5]

Confronting serious questions of how to assess the life of the mind, the potential or real contribution of a scholar, how to reward the meticulous searching required for the pioneering work that characterizes much minority scholarship, how

to encourage risk taking remains a anathema for many institutions. The serious scholar's work is not likely to conform to the academic promotion schedule.

Theoretical research is generally considered more valid in many fields than applied research. In the humanities, this may translate into a bias towards aesthetics and literary criticism, resulting in a hierarchy of book types. An anthology may be devalued because it is "merely" a collection of other people's work and supposedly requires very little effort, while a treatise evaluating various literary works will, by virtue of its choice of subject matter and supposed effort, be considered a more important contribution to the field. Yet because works of all kinds by and about people of color have historically been devalued and "lost" or buried, enormous time and effort is required to find enough of them to serve as primary source materials, essential before there can be any assessment of trends and concepts. Publishing a collection of such work may, indeed, change fundamental ideas in a field and is, of course, precedent to any significant theoretical overview.

Ironically, the typical academic environment does not make it easy to admit what you do not know. The tendency is to pretend to know, even though one's knowledge may be based on *New York Times* reviews rather than on a study of the text itself. When "new" scholarship appears, it may be dismissed simply because one's colleagues have little knowledge of the subject. The casual, negative or flippant remark can be devastating, as it becomes the framework for evaluation. It is too often expected that scholarship, no matter how new or innovative, must emanate from the "mainstream of thoug' t" in the field.

While these academic tendencies can be problematic for white scholars, they are particularly difficult for Blacks, Latinos and Native Americans. The historical legacy of oppression forces African-Americans, Native Americans and Latinos to view the world through different lenses. The enslavement of Africans in this country, the conquering of Spanish territories in North America, and the annihilation of Indian nations—and the attitudes and economic choices that drove those actions—are permanent scars on this nation's history. These experiences remain a living legacy rather than some esoteric racial memory because of the current economic, social and political circumstances of these groups. Racist perspectives still exist and have influence. While all scholars of color may not carry this sensibility, many do, and to that extent their presence in the scholarly community will be problematic. After all, what the scholar chooses to study is most often influenced by his or her particular experiences and background. And in the humanities and arts, research questions and topics emerge from fundamental cultural assumptions and class biases.

The tastes of the monied or ruling class have usually determined what cultural products would be supported and consequently valued. What was studied was decided by a small cadre of scholars in elite institutions and dependent upon this monied class (either as patrons, as loyal alumni or as well-to-do parents of their students). Not only was the concept of liberal education designed for this elite class, but research choices were determined by the class and implicit race and gender bias of the scholar. So, for example, the New Humanists writing out of Harvard in the 1930's emphasized gentility and developed a closed intellectual system that avoided talking about the lower classes.[6] Their choices set the framework for later studies. Scholars in the humanities and arts became the definers and preservers of culture. They not only instructed future generations about the nature of the culture's artifacts, but formulated and enshrined the standards and aesthetics derived from these literary and artistic examples.

Transformations in the Humanities and Arts

The weight of tradition in these disciplines has become so heavy that one might doubt that change is possible. And yet change is occurring in the humanities and arts, and minority scholarship is an important part of that change. While universities control the scholar's reward system, forces external to universities exert significant influence on the choice of research subject, the disciplines and their receptivity to the scholar's work. My own field, theatre history, offers a case in point.

Theatre as a scholarly discipline is relatively new to the academy. Historically, theatre studies have been programs within English or speech departments. Indeed, some are still lodged in speech departments, although in these instances they are equal partners. Theatre historians often approached their subject through bifocals of the English literature historian. The play was studied largely as text rather than as scripted performance, and theatre history focused on the dramatic works sponsored at the royal court, or in large theatres frequented by the monied classes. Royalty and the educated, cultured classes were considered fit subjects for drama. The poor and uneducated provided comic relief, their lives and problems seldom the subject of a major work in what had become defined as "theatre." Because of the British influence in the American colonies, the early years of American theatre were dominated by English exports, and early American dramatists tried desperately to emulate their cousins across the water, thus predisposing studies of early American theatre to view it as a poor copy of a great English tradition. Terms such as "vulgar" and "popular" were used to characterize the "entertainments" of the uneducated and/or lower classes. Their portrayal on mainstages paralleled their status in society, and theatre scholars followed suit in choosing their research subjects.

The first great revolution in theatre as a discipline was provoked by the historic debate between two Harvard scholars in which one successfully advocated that the study of drama is distinct from the study of English and that the history of performance is a viable field of inquiry. As theatre scholars gathered muscle and began to form their own departments, performance studies gained respect as legiti-

mate inquiry alongside the literary and historical studies of theatre. However, this first revolution in thinking had not touched the Euro-centrism of the theatre curriculum.

Emergence of "Popular Entertainment": It would take the decade of the 1960's and 1970's to challenge the fundamental definitions of theatre, to argue the relevance of culture, anthropological insights, and social sciences methodology to an understanding of theatre in society, and to ask why socially-oriented works of black and Hispanic playwrights and theatres as well as Native-American rituals should not be included as valid subjects for theatre research. The scattershot of individual challenges and small forums crystallized in 1977, when the American Society for Theatre Research and the Theatre Library Association sponsored a national conference on the "History of American Popular Entertainment." It was the first major exploration of the genre of popular entertainment in this country. Ten years later, in 1987, the two organizations joined with the Society of Dance History Scholars in sponsoring an International Symposium on Popular Entertainment. These two actions represent an unprecedented broadening of the theatrical field as circuses, environmental entertainments such as the boardwalks or Great America, vaudeville, burlesque, and Wild West Shows, among many others, have become fit subjects for theatre historians under the rubric of "popular entertainment." How did this come about?

While individual scholars had been probing these subjects for some time, the 1977 conference brought definition and legitimacy to the new field. Brooks McNamara, an eminent scholar of American theatre, described and defined the various forms of popular entertainments as an aspect of the American theatrical heritage—translating the concepts into the language of scholars. Naming the new field allows it to emerge with its own vocabulary and legitimacy.

But there is often a more potent force driving the formulation of new fields—popular or social movements. The Civil Rights Movement was the catalyst for much of the current minority scholarship. In my own case, it influenced my choice to write a dissertation on black theatres in California in 1972. Civil upheaval coupled with the vibrant voices of black artists forced upon theatre studies a new agenda. As a doctoral student in the late 1960's and early 1970's, I struggled with those faculty who were willing to endorse a definition of black theatre but who did not understand the necessity of using some non-traditional methodologies (such as interviews) to study an artistic enterprise. Analyses of plays and criticism were familiar, but visiting black communities to discover what artists were actually thinking and doing was suspect for a dissertation on theater. At that time, I did not realize that I was going against traditional research methodology and moving out of the narrow definition of theatre into interdisciplinary areas that forced me to use other analytical means. In my naivete as a first-generation doctoral student—a product of a working-class family—I had merely posed a question that I wanted to research and then designed what seemed to me to be the best means for answering it. I did not at that time understand the subtle and sometimes overt resistance that I encountered nor the post-degree questioning of a dissertation that did not "prove" that I could analyze dramatic texts, despite my other very traditional training for the Ph.D. and subsequent teaching experiences. Much, much later, I realized that I had no intellectual umbrella for my work—other than an undefined term from the popular media—"black theatre." In 1972, "American popular entertainment" was not yet an "official" field of theatrical inquiry.

Another complicating factor was posed by the history of my subject matter. My study involved the recognition that black theatrical activity emanating from the grassroots level is a worthy subject of scholarly inquiry. Since it did not focus on "worthy" dramatic texts legitimized by the theatre establishment through awards or prizes, but rather included plays chosen for production by theatre artists in black communities, it did not fit comfortably into the traditional definition of legitimate theatre. Besides, the roots of black theatre lie in what is now defined as popular entertainment—minstrel shows and burlesque—and interest in the tastes of black audiences did not command respect. The riots and civil turmoil (out of which black theatres of the 1960's emerged) were interesting primarily as social phenomena, not artistic enterprises. Now, however, the concept of popular entertainment provides an intellectual context and formulation for scholarship formerly beyond the pale of "theatre." Even now, scholars feel they must insist that the boundaries of the new field remain flexible, that it be open to new research methodologies or those borrowed from other fields; they also argue that the new formulation must go even further to include rock musical shows, video entertainment, film, television and sports.

These references to theatre and to my early work in the field illustrate several points. The professional associations play a critical role in the shaping of disciplines and in recognizing an emerging field of study or body of knowledge. Through them, individual scholars can leverage a hearing for their work, can interact with significant others in their field and can facilitate publication in those all-important refereed journals. Through an association's national meetings, importance is given to new fields of inquiry and a professional language which helps to define the field. Despite the power of these organizations and their influence on universities, forces outside academe present compelling reasons for shifts and changes in research in the humanities and arts. The Civil Rights Movement and the Women's Movement have had profound impact on research. In a chain reaction of concern, governmental and corporate interests released monies to support new research initiatives. In the 1980's, "popular entertainment" is not simply a result of movement within the field of theatre but is fueled by widespread interest and concern for the effect of multi-billion dollar communications and entertainment industries on national life.

Transforming "American Literature" As humanities researchers are called to reclaim their public voice, a new

generation of minority scholars is already expanding the boundaries of these fields. These scholars are bringing with them transforming questions that are forcing the fields to reassess and revise their assumptions and approaches. Let us take a look at some of the ideas and research behind the term, "minority scholarship." One of the most important developments in the field of American literature is a project designed to transform the literary canon. Coordinated by Dr. Paul Lauter of SUNY-Old Westbury, a white male, this network of scholars, primarily minorities and women, is setting the stage for revolutionizing the conceptualization and teaching of American literature. "By the end of the fifties," according to a survey by the National Council of Teachers of English and reported by Lauter in a recent article, "one could study American literature and read no work by a black writer, few works by women except [Emily] Dickinson and perhaps Marianne Moore or Katherine Anne Porter, and no work about the lives or experiences of working-class people." [7]

Lauter attributes this development to several factors, among them "the development of an aesthetic theory that privileged certain texts, and the historiographic organization of the body of literature into conventional `periods' and `themes.'" The latter is particularly noteworthy. Early formulations of American literature divided works into such areas as "The Puritan Mind," "Romanticism," and the "Frontier Spirit." These categories, conceived out of the backgrounds and biases of early scholars, remained definitive for many years. Lagging behind the American historians, literary historians were slower to act upon the discovery that historical epochs are experienced differently by women and men, by whites and by people of color. Such categories as the "Frontier Spirit," according to Lauter, produced a distorted canon, because it exalted white male individualism, physical courage and the honor code of the "lone cowhand," canonizing works that obscured the "trail of tears" and glorified the triumph of "civilization" over "savagery." The experience of Native-Americans as told in their stories and legends produces a very different perspective, as do the writings of Blacks during this period. An "ahistorical" cultural category thus imposes an interpretation on history and effectively obscures the total and important history of a period.

In reconceptualizing the American literary canon, the scholars on this project surveyed a range of minority, women and other scholars of literature, asking them to recommend works that they thought should be part of a new canon. From that extensive list, it was quite clear that the "add and stir" method of broadening the canon would not work. There were far too many works, and their diversity certainly defied traditional categories. This shopping list of literature revealed an important fact about American culture, that it is a heterogeneous society "with cultures which, while they overlap in significant respects, also differ in critical ways." The concept of a "mainstream" or normative model presents those differences as abnormal, deviant, lesser, perhaps finally unimportant. Consequently, these scholars propose a comparativist model for the study of American literature. This choice will allow us, as Lauter writes, "to discard the notion that all literatures produced in this country must be viewed through the critical lenses shaped to examine 'mainstream' culture. We can then begin to see that, for example, subjects and forms of African-American writers are influenced not only by the traditions of Anglo-European literature but by indigenous folk and formal cultures of black communities in the United States and elsewhere." [8] Such a choice will enrich the study of American literature with comparative perspectives on aesthetic theory, the social aspect of art, the role of audience and many other interesting areas that will allow us to understand better not only the literature emanating from our own particular ethnic and class background, but the ideas and thoughts of our neighbors as well.

This represents a fundamental reshaping the canon and of the way in which we view our history and ourselves. No longer a literary system that enshrines the dominance that has so scarred our past, but a system that allows us to move beyond traditional intellectual boundaries and that sets a context more appropriate to our future as a nation.

Recovering Lost Materials Prerequisite to such revisionist scholarship in the field of literature is recovery of "lost" materials. The field of literature depends upon extant primary documents. For many years, writings by people of color simply "did not exist" in sizeable number—at least for the academy. Cultural assumptions made this work beyond the pale of acceptability or importance. In many cases, these works had to be "recovered," an effort that required extensive bibliographic work and searching in unusual places. This kind of research takes time and resources—not to mention interest. So it is not surprising that it is only in recent decades, post-Civil Rights Movement, and since the numbers of minority scholars have grown, that we have begun to recover some of the literary works that were lost.

John W. Blassingame, Sr., professor of history and Chairman of Afro-American Studies at Yale University, did meticulous bibliographic work while preparing an index to letters to the editor in anti-slavery periodicals, some of which were published by Blacks. In the course of his research, he came across numerous examples of poetry and fiction by Blacks and urged his colleague, Henry Louis Gates, to take a look. Gates reluctantly agreed after a time, doubting that he would find any literary jewels. While he did not find another *Invisible Man*, as he had figured, what he did find is destined to change the history of Afro-American literature and critics' assessment of the place of this literature in American history. Gates found a large body of fiction and poetry published in black periodicals in the 19th and early 20th Centuries that is "as good as if not better than comparable periodical literature written by whites. The fact that relatively uneducated black people writing for the Indianapolis *Freedom* or the *Southern Workman* out of Hampton, Va., produced literature of the same quality as well-educated white people writing in publications such as *Scribner's Magazine* [is] remarkable."[9] These

works are forcing historians to revise their assessment of the levels of literacy among Blacks during that period; this literature also provides primary evidence of black aspirations, experiences, beliefs and customs that will be invaluable to psychologists, social historians and other scholars.

American History Projects Pioneering works in history during the past two decades have laid the bases for these and other developments in the field of literature. And change continues as minority historians redefine and reinterpret critical aspects of American history. Two projects undertaken by Black scholars are indicative. Both are investigating that peculiar institution, slavery, that lies at the heart of America's past and psyche. Both are broadening the subfield, Southern history—beyond simply the black experience or the white experience or the slave's experience or the freedman's experience—but are instead beginning to look at "the complicated relationships that existed in the South between blacks and whites, landless and landed, employers and employees."[10] For example, Barbara Jeanne Fields, Associate Professor of History at the University of Michigan, challenges the assumption that states such as Maryland, in which slavery was conducted on a small scale, practiced a more benign form of slavery. She has proven just the contrary. Her book, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland during the Nineteenth Century*, encourages other scholars to look at the broader social context of the slaveholding South—the effect of slavery on the non-slaveholding parts of society.

The second project is by historian, Armstead L. Robinson, Director of the Carter G. Woodson Institute at the University of Virginia. He is revising scholarly studies of the Civil War. Traditionally, scholars have attributed the Southern defeat to the superior manpower and resources of the North. Robinson argues, however, that this view misclassifies the struggle fought between 1861 and 1865 as a civil war. In fact, it was a war for independence, since the South had formed the Confederacy whose founders denied any interest in the American political system. Most wars for independence, he notes, have involved struggles where the seceding party is inferior to the party trying to maintain the existing state. Yet some succeed while others fail. "No analysis of a particular example of a certain class of cases can be successful if that analysis fails to provide a basis for distinguishing successful from unsuccessful applications of similar strategic concepts. To argue that a particular war for independence fails because of resource imbalances is to wallow in a tautology." He has uncovered evidence that argues that disunity, not resources, caused the South to lose and that the "freedom struggle of four million slaves was the primary causal agent leading to the disintegration of southern unity during the Civil War."[11] This is a major reversal from the prevailing scholarship of the 1950's which disregarded slavery as a major force in the Civil War. This transforming perspective is laying the basis for a fuller accounting of American history, a foundation for forging a national identity that includes rather than ignores one of the most painful and disgraceful aspects of our past.

Other Cultures and Arts Just as fundamental are the new studies of African civilizations by black scholars. Going beyond the traditional focus on slavery and the African-American experience, researchers are studying classic African civilizations and the African origins of western civilization and destroying "the myth that rural African civilization represents [the African people's] highest level of civilization."[12] They form the historical parallel to archaeological discoveries that place the origin of humankind on the continent of Africa, thus challenging the ethnocentrism of western Whites and, in time, the conceptualizations of world history that now dominate our curricula.

The list of examples goes on and on in these and other fields in the humanities and arts. There is the new Center for Black Music at Columbia College in Chicago and the work of scholars like Portia Maultsby at Indiana University who are addressing the miseducation and misperceptions of Americans about the roots of contemporary music. Other scholars of color are recovering important works by Mexican poets, studying tribal ritual traditions in Native-American novels, investigating Native-American art and ceremony in relation to Native-American life-styles and world views, recording the history of Hispanic theatre in the U.S. and its role in Hispanic adjustment to immigration, relocation, economic depression and repatriation.

Minority social scientists are producing comparative studies of race relations, explorations of equity theory in relation to Mexican-American students, topical histories of the U.S.-Mexico border region, demographic portraits of Mexican Railroad workers, studies of minorities and standardized testing, and language development of bilingual children. And a precious few are working in philosophy, one scholar, for example, looking at the relationship of key phenomenological existentialists to contemporary Afro-American philosophical thought, especially their doctrines and analyses of consciousness, the ego/self, freedom and the life-world.[13]

The progress is slow but steady—and greatly augmented by special funding initiatives by organizations such as the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations, supporters of many of the scholarly works that I have cited in this paper. While, on the one hand, special initiatives designated for minority scholars admit (by their existence) that these applicants may not get the same opportunities under more generalized funding programs, on the other hand, these fellowships do increase exponentially the number of minority scholars receiving support and, to a large extent, provide further legitimization for the work that is being done. Thus minority scholarship moves from a snail's pace to a slow gait, and that is, indeed, progress.

Changes in these disciplines are being augmented by other factors as well. A recent issue of the *Chronicle of Higher Education* reported that scholars in the humanities and social sciences commonly speak now about barriers falling, boundaries extending, fields broadening and looking beyond themselves as they describe the ferment occurring in these areas.[14] To attribute this development to minority

scholars exclusively would be foolish, although they are very important contributors. Certainly, feminist scholarship along with other less defined research initiatives have posed fundamental, transforming questions to the disciplines, forcing them to leap forward in their conceptualizations and methodology. Although this movement began, as did minority studies, focusing on a particular group, it quickly moved to more generalized questions that challenged the disciplines—fueled in part by funding initiatives and a larger cadre of scholars (white women augmented by powerful black women scholars and other women of color) that were entering or already in the academy. People of color were the shadows behind those questions, sometimes intentionally posed by white and black women who had been involved in the Civil Rights Movement. So that the doors pushed open by feminist scholars, in this instance, have admitted other challenging issues raised historically as well as currently by minority scholars.

Effects of Ethnic and Gender Studies

It is ironic that ethnic studies programs and departments, whose existence precedes women's studies by a decade or more, have nourished and supported the vast majority of minority scholars now working in academe but have made limited progress in affecting traditional departments and disciplines. The separate structures, necessitated by attitudes and perceptions in traditional departments, helped to foster the idea that the scholarly work itself (on Blacks, Hispanics and Native-Americans) was "political," "apart from the mainstream" and had little to do with traditional conceptualizations in the field. It was merely a matter of "adding and stirring" whatever minority scholars came up with. What has, in fact, happened is that minority scholarship is now benefiting from the tactical advantage gained by the feminist movement that focused its early efforts on "Women Studies integration projects." Minority researchers are moving with other pioneering scholars to challenge fundamental conceptualizations in the disciplines.

Cracks are appearing in disciplinary walls, and in some cases barriers are falling. A recent article in *The Chronicle of Higher Education* quoted a professor of history: "The subdisciplines are looking beyond themselves more than they have in the past.... The best history is being done from a more integrated perspective. Historians are broadening their definitions of what you have to look at to do history within various specialties."[15] Samuel Gorovitz, Dean of Arts and Science and Professor of Philosophy at Syracuse University, continues, "The sense of agenda [in philosophy], of methodology, of what counts as relevant literature, of what counts as legitimate questions and answers—that has all expanded quite dramatically."[16] Others report increasing openness, as evidenced by such disciplines as psychology of health, global environment, cognitive archaeology, etc. The intense specialization that has, in many ways, plagued the academy may now be reaping benefits as scholars seek again to find the connections, but this time with a fuller, much richer plate of knowledge and information. At the same time, university faculty members are rebelling against control of journals and other publications by an oligarchy of established scholars. A recent survey conducted by the American Council of Learned Societies revealed that "sizeable majorities of scholars in seven broad disciplines [of the humanities and social sciences] think the peer-review system for deciding what gets published in scholarly journals is biased in favor of 'established' researchers, scholars from prestigious institutions, and those who use 'currently fashionable approaches' to their subjects. Forty percent of the scholars say the peer-review system for publishing in their discipline needs reform."[17]

With the current ferment in disciplines and large-scale faculty retirements anticipated within the next decade, it is an opportune time for scholars of color. However, I must raise some cautionary notes. The numbers of minority students moving through the educational pipeline must be increased, and we must find ways of increasing persistence and graduation rates at all levels. The role of minority graduate students is particularly critical. The questions that they raise and the perceptions that they bring can often be catalysts in changing traditional ideas of senior faculty.

The Need for Transformation

Despite the distinct sounds of barriers falling in the humanities and arts, there is still much to do, as papers in this conference indicate. The best of minority scholarship is not recovery and revisionist but also poses transforming questions and ideas for the academy and a society, both established without considering people of color as equal partners. Minority scholars should not fit too comfortably within the academy, at least as it is presently constituted. Nor should they be expected to. Like round pegs pressed against square holes, we should and must raise the kinds of questions and produce the kinds of scholarship that transform not only our fields but our institutions as well. It is not enough to simply "get in"; we must also transform in the process so that the public voice of universities may be heard for the benefit of all of society's peoples. It is critical that some of us place ourselves in position to leverage our institutions—that some of us assume those academic administrative positions (department chairs, deanships, provostships, and presidencies) that allow us to have profound influence on the hiring and retention of faculty, the nature of educational programs, and the composition of our student bodies. At the same time, others of us must continue to advance our fields, balancing as best we can the many demands on our time. But whatever our arena of action, we should continue to challenge and to work for change. In the true spirit of academic freedom, we must continue to pursue truth and resist the temptation to be safe and comfortable. Transformation, not integration, must be our goal.

Notes

1. Theodore Roszak, "On Academic Delinquency," The Dissenting Academy. Vintage Books, 1967, p.45.

2. Ibid., vii.
3. Ibid., p. 37, 38.
4. Milton Reigelman, "Today's Scholar :'A Good Finger, A Good Neck, an Elbow, but Never A Man'," The Chronicle of Higher Education, September 2, 1987, p.A128.
5. Ibid.
6. R. Baxter Miller, Ed., Black American Literature and Humanism, The University Press of Kentucky, 1981, p.2.
7. Paul Lauter, "Race and Gender in the Shaping of the American Literary Canon: A Case Study from the Twenties," Feminist Studies 9, No. 3, Fall 1983, p.440. Lauter cites the survey by the National Council of Teachers of English as follows: Committee on the College Study of American Literature and Culture, William G. Crane, Chairperson, American Literature in the College Curriculum, Chicago: National Council of Teachers of English, 1948, p.27.
8. Paul Lauter, "The Literatures of America — A Comparative Discipline," (A paper prepared for a Soviet-American Conference on Minority Literatures of the United States), July, 1985, p.2.
9. Angus Paul, "A Wealth of Material on Black Literature Discovered by Periodical Fiction Project," The Chronicle of Higher Education, October 23, 1985, p.5.
10. Karen J. Winkler, "On the Border Between North and South, Historian Finds Different Kind of Slavery," The Chronicle of Higher Education, October 8, 1985. Winkler is reporting on the research of Barbara Jeanne Fields, Associate Professor of History at the University of Michigan, author of Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland during the Nineteenth Century.
11. See Armstead L. Robinson in National Research Council, 1986 Directory of Fellows (1980-86): Postdoctoral Fellowships for Minorities Programs, The Ford Foundation.
12. Ellen K. Coughlin, "Humanities and Social Sciences: The Sound of Barriers Falling," The Chronicle of Higher Education, September 2, 1987, p.A10. See also: Ellen K. Coughlin, "Scholars Work to Refine Africa-Centered View of the Life and History of Black Americans," The Chronicle of Higher Education, October 28, 1987, p.A6.
13. 1986 Directory of Fellows, op. cit.
14. Coughlin, op. cit. p.A7.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Robert L. Jacobson, "Scholars Fault Journals and College Libraries in Survey by Council of Learned Societies," The Chronicle of Higher Education, August 6, 1986, p.1.

RESPONSE

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The most engaging feature of these extraordinarily rich presentations, in my view, is that they state forthrightly what minority scholarship must be about—we must strive for creativity and firmly grounded critical perspectives. But the presenters have provided more than vague ideals; they have demonstrated ways in which these aspirations can be and are being given concrete expression. They have, furthermore, clearly articulated a human and political dimension of the work to be undertaken. We have no warrant for claiming a place in the academy other than the determination to bring its capabilities to bear on the generation and broad sharing of emancipatory forms of knowledge. If we challenge and seek to stretch disciplines or reach across their accepted boundaries to carve out new "interdisciplines," it is, in the final analysis because we reject any version of education or learning that does not clearly affirm that our freedom and well- being as people is a vital concern and an attainable goal.

Like all movements going somewhere, the drive for ethnic studies some twenty years ago had its manifestoes. I have drawn the title for these brief remarks from one I had a hand in drafting. It said in this connection, "we have set out to effectively contest those visions of the world that assume or take for granted the inevitability and indefinite duration of the class and colonial oppression that has marked Puerto Rico's history." In the ensuing years we have learned to keep the racism and sexism that are an integral part of those systems of subordination very explicitly in the foreground of our concern.

Rather than attempt a critique of these fine papers in the few minutes I have been allocated, I would like to offer some sidelights on a few of the issues raised from a Puerto Rican or Latino perspective. Gordon and Rollock pose a crucial question at the outset. How is it that the system of knowledge production in the U.S. has served us so poorly? The answer, as they make clear, is complex and far from fully settled. A presumptive universalizing from the Western European experience, and that of its new world extensions, is part of the picture as is a dogged racialism that takes on changing scientific garb as paradigm shifts occur. In addition, the shaky epistemological underpinnings of competing weak paradigms give free rein to the eclecticism, empiricism and ad hoc theorizing that prevails in U.S. social science.

Prof. Wilkerson trains her critical guns more directly on the university itself. Are United States universities today places where the project of overturning self-defeating visions of ourselves can be sensibly and usefully advanced? Is anything going on there that has to do with our social advance or eventual liberation? The challenge, she asserts, is not just to wheedle a sheltered space in the academy in which to muse on our tribulations, but to become active agents in the transformation of teaching, research and cultural production.

Ethnic Research Tasks

The day-to-day pursuit of these goals necessarily takes on a more prosaic cast. At CUNY's Center for Puerto Rican Studies, where I have worked for some fifteen years, much energy in the beginning years went into three broad tasks. Summarily stated these include:

- Setting the record straight; that is, countering stereo- typical representations of our past and present condition.
- Filling in the historical record; that is, bringing into view submerged or neglected features and events in the process of the incorporation of our peoples into the life of this country.
- Documenting the particularities of the modes of entry, participation and partial integration into U.S. society that set off our experience from that of other national origin populations.

That undertaking is far from complete, but we derive a number of key lessons for upcoming research from the past fifteen years of inquiry and reflection. The claim that the cutting edge of U.S. social science and the related search for policy alternatives will for the near future center on the issue of racially stigmatized and other disadvantaged groups has now to be taken seriously.[1] Our experience and present condition is not most usefully construed as a record of deviations, misfires and shortfalls in recapitulating or trying to catch up with the accomplishments of more advanced social groups. In fact, that record contains crucial insights into the sustaining dynamic and probable future course of U.S. society as a whole. Therefore, our research mission cannot be to simply replicate established research schema on a narrowed scale. We are called rather to generate theory and research instruments appropriate to an emergent vision of our changing placement within the larger society. We now know that the complex of social forces restructuring global and intranational relations manifest themselves in particularly revealing ways within those social spaces in which our presence is most concentrated.

Getting back to Prof. Wilkerson's preoccupations with the manifest levels of alienation in university life. Over these years we have gained considerable experience in collective work, in breaking down the individualistic, competitive, and hierarchical habits and structures of the institutions within which we function. At the Centro this practice has been most successful in group decision making, especially with regard to basic principles and broad priorities. It has also been partially realized in group study and research, in writing for publication and in matters of group evaluation and individual accountability. This approach has given more uneven results in efforts to maintain stable ties to community constituencies and to activate timely involvement from that source at critical junctures. Our ability to project this experience outward to other quarters of the university has been minimal.

A Framework for Scholarship

Finally, a few words on a matter raised only in passing in the paper by Gordon and Rollock. They venture the idea that considerably more intragroup or "idiographic" research may be necessary before comparative studies can prove productive. At the Centro we have taken what may be a middle course on this matter. From the outset we have sought to establish operative linkages with scholars studying groups occupying structurally cognate positions in U.S. society. In fact, in 1972, during the process of the Centro's formation, we mounted a first exercise of this kind at Stanford University. A seminar, organized by students and faculty, was designed to permit the simultaneous exploration of a variety of issues—questions of theory, method, research practice and the political uses of intellectual work. The multinational and multiethnic composition of the group was an essential ingredient. A primary purpose was to provide politically concerned students and professors of diverse origins (in this instance chiefly Latin Americans, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and African Americans) an opportunity to explore the possibility of establishing a common framework for the analysis of inequality and dependence among and within nations. Recent Latin American formulations concerning dependency were taken as a point of departure. The aim was a critical assessment of the historical scope of these concepts, the range of national and sub-national situations covered by them and the extensions of the economic structures and processes described in them into other aspects of social organization. A further question raised was whether within the framework of such a seminar a much desired reconnection of theory, research methods and social relevance could be partially achieved in social science training especially for minority and Third World students and faculty.[2]

Over the years we have found many ways, formal and informal, to reproduce this combination or format, convening mixed groups of young minority graduate students and faculty to address common problems of theory, method and research practice. Extended summer institutes in 1980 and 1982 helped to enlarge and consolidate these networks. Every Centro research task force is expected to activate and nurture linkages of this kind as an integral part of the implementation of any research project. Beginning in 1982 we have been able to give this endeavor institutional form with respect to Chicano researchers through the creation of the ***Inter-University Project for Latino Research (IUP)***.

IUP's short history and current activities are described in *The IUP Report*. Through working groups that are national in scope and open to researchers and institutions concerned with all Latin-origin populations in the U.S., we are in the process of developing an integrated research capability that is national in reach yet sensitive to the particularities of each Latino subgroup as well as the regional contexts that shape their placement in U.S. society. Research on this scale is now under way on Latino social mobility in the post-war period, on labor market participation in the course of ongoing economic restructuring, and on political attitudes and behavior. Projects on culture, oral history, health, language and education are currently being generated by working parties under the IUP umbrella. A number of leadership, graduate training and faculty development

programs are also in place. We are now in a position to explore more seriously the possibility of linkups with groups such as the Cooperative Research Network in Black Studies, whose director participated in a recent IUP forum. I am hopeful that this coming together at Stony Brook may seed some such effort to unify the intellectual work and the training endeavors that are our common concern.

Notes

1. Manning Marable, "Race, Class and Conflict: Intellectual Debates on Race Relations Research in the United States since 1960: A Social Science Biblioghraphical Essay," Sage Race Relations Abstracts, Vol. 6, 4, 1981.
2. Frank Bonilla and Robert Girling, eds., Structures of Dependency, Stanford: Institute of Political Studies, Stanford University, 1972.

RESPONSE

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Wilkerson has done an excellent job of presenting some of the problems and challenges facing minority scholars as we attempt to excel (survive?) in the academic enterprise. Incorporating some personal experiences, Wilkerson provides a candid assessment of the dangerous path through the halls of the academy on the way to the sanctity of the Ivory Tower. Despite differences in our ethnic backgrounds and disciplines, I share many of her experiences and views on minority scholarship. However, I disagree with some of her conclusions and recommendations, and offer my response as a friendly addendum.

Minority Scholars

Pressures for Conformity I agree that the academy can be likened to an elite social club in which membership is more of a privilege than a right. Wilkerson does an excellent job of outlining the difficulties associated with heavy reliance on the peer review system for tenure and promotions decisions. Certainly, our survival as scholars hinges on the evaluations of our mainstream colleagues. I also concur that much of what is deemed acceptable scholarship is determined by mainstream cultural forces, and even the most talented minority scholar is pressured to work within the conventional parameters of his or her discipline. Those who have deviated substantially from mainstream intellectual culture have generally experienced difficulties at tenure and promotion time. In short, there is enormous pressure to conform and "go with the flow."

A relevant point not made by Wilkerson concerns the nature and extent of our acceptance as minority scholars by mainstream colleagues. Most minority scholars are not granted true collegial equality. Indeed, attitudes reflecting tokenism and patronization abound among our mainstream colleagues, and even those of us who have achieved a respectable level of professional distinction within mainstream academic circles are seen more as oddities and fluke occurrences than examples of what other ethnic minorities could do.

And Mediocrity In fact, it is my personal observation that the "system" actually encourages and rewards mediocrity among minority scholars for the mere reason of ensuring our second-class standing as academics. The most adaptive and ostensibly successful minority scholars are those who publish enough to stay above water and do not question the legitimacy of mainstream academic procedures and rituals. Such an informal policy provides an outward appearance of ethnic diversity among the faculty while protecting the academy against change.

Surprisingly, Wilkerson does not elaborate on the identification and development of minority scholars. What can we do to increase the number of talented ethnic minorities who decide to pursue academic careers? We are all familiar with the formal path through which one enters the academic profession: gain admission to a graduate program, complete requirements for the Ph.D. degree, compete successfully for a tenure-track position, and climb the ladder. As most of you know, it's never quite that simple.

The Selection Process The truth is that the selection process for membership in the exclusive academic profession involves a great deal of unarticulated, informal evaluation. Moreover, I believe that screening and selection start long before the initial academic appointment, let alone the tenure evaluation. In fact, preliminary decisions about who should and who should not be encouraged to pursue an academic career are actually made at the undergraduate level. This is precisely the time when talented mainstream students are identified and groomed for admission to the finest graduate programs to work with preeminent scholars. These individuals are given the inside track advantage right from the start. Hence, at a time when many high-potential minority students are still deciding on an academic major, the initial screening of the likely heirs to the academic estate has already started!

Such a comprehensive, yet informal, selection process, coupled with a lack of quality public school preparation of minority students, leads to a bleak prognosis for increasing the representation of ethnic minorities among the faculty ranks of our colleges and universities. Even in states with very substantial minority populations, minority faculty presence barely reaches the token level. To remedy the problem we must launch comprehensive minority talent identification and development programs. In testimony I delivered recently before the Commission to Review the Master Plan for Higher education in the State of California on behalf of the Tomas Rivera Center, I made the following recommendation for

increasing the production of Hispanic scholars:

> We must design and implement a system for the early identification of Hispanic students with talent and the potential for growth, and we must provide an academic environment which promotes development of this basic talent and transforms potential into substantive achievement. (Garza, 1987)

Minority Scholarship

The Challenge of Revision Turning to the issue of "minority scholarship" and its lack of acceptability within the mainstream academic arena, I agree generally with Wilkerson's depiction of the unique and inherently problematic dilemma with which most minority scholars have been confronted: Conduct research which fits well within conventional disciplinary boundaries and become a modestly successful academic or conduct cause-driven research aimed at redressing past injustice against oppressed groups and jeopardize your academic career. Because most of us decided to pursue academic careers in the late 60's and 70's, motivated by a desire to rectify fallacious depictions of our ethnic groups in the humanities and social sciences, some of our early research had an "axe-grinding" flavor to it. In some ways, our personal mission was to challenge the theoretical frameworks and methodologies used by mainstream researchers. As I have noted elsewhere (Garza & Lipton, 1978; 1982; 1984), the bulk of the early social science research on minority groups is based on inappropriate or invalid paradigms. In the case of social psychology, for example, the use of culturally inappropriate psychological measures was quite widespread. The common practice was to compare ethnic minorities to Anglo-Americans using mainstream measures. Of course, minorities did not fare well.

To say the least, it was not easy to publish work which refuted long-standing research conclusions about minority groups. I am sure most of us can exchange horror stories about our dealings with unsympathetic mainstream journal editors and reviewers. This was a rather difficult course to take, bucking the system all the way.

Yet did we really have a choice in the matter? I think not. To abandon our quest for social justice would have been a direct betrayal of the psychic energy which enabled us to endure the personal stress and financial hardship of graduate school. In other words, we owed it to ourselves, and to our ethnic groups, to pursue controversial research in order to rectify widespread misconceptions in the humanities and social science literature about ethnic minority groups.

Fortunately, the situation has changed significantly in recent years, and budding minority scholars can benefit from the road paved by the old "workhorses." Within the social sciences, for example, there is now a sufficient and diversified body of literature by established minority scholars. Specifically, within the field of psychology, the pioneering work of individuals like the late George Sanchez and Alfredo Castaneda and, more contemporarily, Amado Padilla and Manuel Ramirez III provide excellent theoretical and methodological alternatives for the psychological study of Hispanics. In other words, considerable progress has been made, a point not stressed adequately by Wilkerson. The challenge now before us is to increase the number of minority scholars, particularly in research-oriented universities.

Why Underrepresentation? If minority scholars no longer have as many obstacles as their predecessors, then why is our representation among college and university faculties so sparse? The reasons are much more subtle and complicated than Wilkerson suggests. To start, despite our efforts to romanticize the glory days back in the late 60's and early 70's when most minorities were motivated by a quest for social justice, ethnic minorities in the present decade are not as willing to sacrifice individual material gains to pursue the long and difficult path leading to a successful academic career. By the way, this is consistent with trends within the mainstream population as well; in fact, as noted recently, particularly in *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, an increasing number of talented mainstream college students are choosing financially rewarding opportunities within the private sector over academic careers.

The Long Term How can we overcome this apparent lack of interest in academic careers? The only long-term solution I can propose is early exposure to the thrills and rewards of scholarly pursuits. In the past 12 years I have developed and administered several special programs designed to motivate and prepare minority undergraduate students for academic careers. While I can point to several success stories, I have reached the conclusion that the identification of talented minority students must occur much earlier. I believe we have to look 20 years ahead, and start developing future minority scholars at the elementary and preschool levels. It is during this early formative period that talented minority students should be identified and given every opportunity to develop their talent and acquire an insatiable appetite for learning and the pursuit of scholarship.

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RESPONSE

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While my field is ethnomusicology, a discipline that crosses music, anthropology, dance, and ethnic studies, I have decided not to focus just on enthnomusicology, but first on the arts in general and second on the opportunities and needs for and of Indian scholars. In music, and particularly in ethnomusicology, we judge a colleague in terms of performance and creative contributions as well as scholarship. The field of ethnomusicology seeks to combine all aspects of a well-rounded performer and scholar.

Why do we need minority scholars in the arts? We need them for the same reasons we require them in other fields—only more so. The arts, along with literature and language, are what distinguish us from our fellows and from the mainstream culture. Folk and traditional arts, in particular, allow us to be creative within the norms of our own cultures without adhering to unyielding standards of artistic expression imposed by outsiders. We do not need to be prima ballerinas or prima donnas to be important.

The folk and traditional arts of America's ethnic groups are time-tested and ongoing activities: music, dance, song, poetry, drama, tales, crafts, games and pastimes, visual representations, oratory, and rituals. The particular ways these artistic traditions are expressed serve to identify and symbolize the people who originated them. They make visible and audible the stylistic and cultural variety that characterizes life in the United States and makes it an adventure in human understanding. (See also Folk Arts brochure, National Endowment for the Arts.)

Scholarship in Folk & Traditional Arts

Academically, minority scholars in the folk and traditional arts have several advantages. While they may not always speak the native languages of their ancestors, they may be skilled in another type of language—the language of the insider. Knowing how to interpret information transmitted through example, parable, symbolism, understatement or exaggeration may be a greater skill then understanding the Western direct method of linear discourse. After experiencing a lifetime of joking and shared experiences based on stereotypes (Indians always get blamed for rain), the minority scholar is prepared for a kind of field work that goes far beyond participant-observation. It would seem clear that members of the same societies as the musicians, dancers, artists, storytellers, and so forth would understand the art form and the artistic process better than outsiders. Also, s/he might derive personal, as well as professional, satisfaction from documenting, preserving, and sharing his/her own culture.

The arguments against minority scholars' studying their own groups usually point to a possible lack of objectivity. However, it is just as reasonable to argue that the bulk of the educational system in Europe and America centers around "White Studies," in the guise of humanities, philosophy, world civilization, music history, and so on. Moreover, a minority scholar with a good research design and the requisite skills should be able to do a good job, regardless of cultural proximity to the subject matter. And subjectivity is not always bad. Indeed, an inside view may help the researcher by providing a set of aesthetic criteria to judge quality in the art form and truthfulness in the interviews with the artists. (See also Heth 1982: 3-6)

Minority researchers and teachers with good credentials are needed nationwide in colleges of fine arts, museums, national, state, and local arts agencies, Indian tribal governments, urban and grassroots community organizations, and schools. Whether they choose academic careers in research universities or applied careers in arts management, sensitivity to cultural issues and high research standards must be maintained. Conversely, it is as important that we not be trapped into doing research just within our ethnic boundaries. I know a Chinese-American ethnomusicologist born on the Navajo Indian Reservation whose area of expertise is African music. Why not? If an area of study is important in its own right, it should attract scholars from all ethnic groups.

Trends, Needs, and Problems in American Indian Scholarship

In 1981, Susan Guyette and I began a needs assessment for American Indian Higher Education funded by F.I.P.S.E. Published in 1985, the study had many parts; I can touch only a few here. One of the major parts of our survey was an assessment of institutional cooperation. We had 107 academic

Respondents to Heth and Guyette Survey

TABLE 1 *by Institution Type*

Type*	Percent
Two year college	29.9
Four year college	30.9
University (M.A. highest degree available)	14.0
University (Ph.D. highest degree available)	25.2

*(N=107)

TABLE 2 *by Major Source of Institutional Support*

Source Support*	Percent
State	67.3
Private	19.6
Federal	13.1

*(N=107)

respondents to our questionnaire, primarily counselors and administrators. Tables 1 and 2 show the types of institutions responding and their major sources of support.

Recruitment of Faculty for American Indian Studies as shown in Table 3 reflects a critical area. In rating their institutions on cooperation in these areas, the respondents chose "poor" 28% of the time and not applicable 21.5% of the time, perhaps a more telling figure philosophically.

Table 4, presenting a rating of institutional cooperation in "Recruitment of American Indian Studies/Alaskan Native Faculty in Any Discipline," reveals an even lesser degree of cooperation. The four-year institutions—four-year college, University (M.A. highest), and University (Ph.D. highest)—reported poor cooperation for 54%, 66.7% and 74.1% respectively. (See also Guyette and Heth 1985: 8-19.)

Keeping in mind that what we surveyed is not the "pool" of qualified faculty available but the perception of institutional cooperation, then we can infer low morale on the part of those faculty members, counselors, and administrators surveyed who are seeking colleagues and role models for their students. Since Indian programs, with their interdisciplinary, holistic approaches to education, tend to differ from the mainstream academic curriculum, their goals and objectives need to be spelled out even more clearly than those for disciplinary programs such as American literature, history, political science, etc., that are well established. If the institutions do not have a policy to hire and retain Indian faculty and professional staff, then it follows logically that they will also not be able to recruit and retain Indian students who might become future scholars and professionals.

The area of "Research Funds for American Indian Studies" (Table 5) reflects a high indication of "poor" institutional cooperation. While many institutions are eager to develop courses on American Indian topics, fewer are contributing support for research leading to textual materials incorporating greater cultural sensitivity and accuracy. Money for American Indian research is also an important factor indicating the general support level for minority faculty. Recruitment of faculty is but one limited indicator of encouragement, whereas cooperation in the form of research support reflects institutional attitudes toward long-term faculty development.

In higher education we face issues of research and curriculum development, inter-institutional cooperation (particularly for faculty exchange), faculty sensitivity or lack of sensitivity, funding alternatives and goal setting in American Indian studies programs. All Indian studies programs and scholars teaching Indian content courses need curricular materials. All need journal articles that express an Indian point of view, and all need Indian faculty who are serious scholars with leadership potential. If Indian studies programs and Indian content courses are to succeed in the current "Back to Basics" movement, they must be of the highest quality. The issues we are discussing will insure that quality without sacrificing integrity.

Developing Faculty, Community and Research

Indian scholars and scholars in Indian studies need forums to bring them together on a regular basis. Symposia that incorporate "planned controversy" or, in more common rhetoric, present "opposing or differing points of view" can garner extramural support funds.

Getting people together is perhaps the most important agenda of all such meetings. The frequent isolation of Indian scholars, scattered throughout the universities and colleges of the nation, wearing their "affirmative action" blankets and beaded "tenure track" shoes, serving on multifarious committees and conducting research little understood by their colleagues, is a serious problem. If we could get them to address topics of interest to Indian students and community members as well as to scholars, then we would be disseminating information where it could do the most good while simultaneously presenting role models. If we could get government and industry involved as well, then maybe we could raise consciousness, influence policy and help people to solve problems. If the results were published, curricular materials would result.

Topics Other topics for research and curriculum development are Indian identity and world view, economic survival, education, health and medical services, sovereignty and tribal governments. The emphasis should be on applied research of direct benefit to the Indian audience. For example, university research findings on specific topics could be disseminated through summer institutes for training classroom teachers.

Ideas for research in the arts, both applied and basic, would arise from among academic scholars, traditional Indian artists, craftsmen, and elders on such topics as: American literature and contemporary American Indian writers; the ethics of documenting, preserving, and sharing American Indian culture; the ethics of conducting research on sacred traditions; value changes in Indian art; and the leadership roles of American Indian museums in displaying Indian Culture.

In looking at land tenure, sovereignty, and energy independence, we should convene tribal leaders, government officials, lawyers, scholars, technicians, energy developers, and students. We must look at the roles cultural values play in the land and energy development process and the socio-economic consequences of resource development of all kinds for Native Americans.

As the issues raised in the symposia become increasingly important, the tribal leaders who listen can become proactive and take the time to plan systematically for economic development rather than remaining reactive and responding hastily to demands by industry and Indian and non-Indian entrepreneurs. Indian scholars should be those people whose shared wisdom will help determine future Indian policy and solutions to problems.

Scholarship and the Community Some of the issues addressed at this Stony Brook conference were not included in our survey: retention, promotion, recognition of minority

TABLE 3

Rating of Institutional Cooperation — Recruitment of Faculty for American Indian Studies*

	2 Year College	4 Year College	Univ. M.A.	Univ. Ph.D.	% of Total
Excellent	18.8%	18.2%	13.3%	14.8%	16.8%
Good	12.5%	21.2%	6.7%	11.1%	
Average	18.8%	18.2%	13.3%	18.5%	17.8%
Poor	18.8%	21.2%	40.0%	40.7%	28.0%
No Response	3.1%	3.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.9%
Not Applicable	28.1%	18.2%	26.7%	14.8%	21.5%
N	32	33	15	27	107

**Percentages represent column totals unless otherwise indicated.*

faculty. I do believe that there are still opportunities for minority scholars of high intellectual achievement to succeed as professors without being co-opted by the system and losing their connections to their constituencies. But some of us also need to be administrators and policy makers as well as scholars. For those in administration, the connections both to the university and to the community are crucial.

In looking back, we revisit the tremendous struggles most of us have experienced in order to garner degrees and tenure. In looking forward we see that we now have colleagues to help us and our younger students.

Publication Issues While minority scholars have been criticized for publishing many of their works at host institutions or in minority journals, these research results should not be ignored in the tenure and promotion committee's deliberations. Grants from minority or ethnic studies programs supporting scholarly work frequently require that the sponsoring program be given first refusal on the manuscript. Similarly, specialized publications programs seek out minority scholars to address particular issues. Here our small numbers work against us. Perhaps these programs and publications units have established priorities for including minority scholars, and if the particular faculty member does not contribute, those issues will not be covered. Frequently, a senior minority scholar in one of these programs will ask a junior scholar to collaborate, making it hard for him/her to refuse the opportunity. Publications are sometimes solicited from the minority scholar by a prestigious school, and then, partly on the strength of that publication, the minority researcher is asked to join the faculty at the school. This confuses the in-house/out-of-house perception of the work.

Also, opportunities for publishing in small fields, such as ethnomusicology, various area studies, and ethnic studies, are few. If one eschews one's own institution (supposing that minority scholars, like other scholars, are attracted to institutions where they can find colleagues), many opportunities are missed. And no reputable institution publishes articles or books, even from its own faculty, without soliciting comments from outside readers. It would be counterproductive to avoid these outlets just because they are in house.

Another consideration is that other minority scholars and community members look to institutions with strong research and publications programs for textual materials and current research findings. Minority scholars seem to feel an obligation to let their research become known by their own people. I wonder whether journals of "doubtful quality" cited in certain tenure reviews have been deemed doubtful because they come from minority programs or minority-run universities.

Euro-American notions of categorization do not always fit the work of minority scholars. Instead, more holistic studies sometimes lead to new ideas about old topics. For example, patronage in music reminds most people of European courts. However, wealthy and royal persons in West Africa extend their patronage and enhance their prestige by sponsoring musicians, beer parties, etc. These important people are obliged to supply entertainment for their constituents by virtue of their positions. This concept of "sharing the wealth" differs from the Western idea. The attendees at these events similarly serve as patrons because they verify social and performance norms through their complex interaction with the sponsors. The potlatches of Northwest Coast Indians and the "give-aways" of Plains Indians serve much the same function.

Sometimes minority scholars are criticized because of their methodology. Gordon and Rollock point out (pp.8-9) that new paradigms may be needed, and I believe that methodology need not be transparent. Conceptual frameworks among ethnic groups may be outlined in parables and mythic concepts, not tenets of "world view." For example, social science methods are not always appropriate in dealing with musical topics. It is quite common for ethnomusicologists to eschew

TABLE 4

**Rating of Institutional Cooperation —
Recruitment of American Indian Studies/Alaskan Native Faculty in any Discipline***

	2 Year College	4 Year College	Univ. M.A.	Univ. Ph.D.	% of Total
Excellent	25.0%	9.1%	0.0%	0.0%	10.3%
Good	3.1%	0.0%	13.3%	11.1%	5.6%
Average	25.0%	18.2%	6.7%	14.8%	17.8%
Poor	31.3%	54.5%	66.7%	74.1%	54.2%
No Response	0.0%	9.1%	6.7%	0.0%	3.7%
Not Applicable	15.6%	9.1%	6.7%	0.0%	8.4%
N	32	33	15	27	107

**Percentages represent column totals unless otherwise indicated.*

self-consciousness in their methodology and not to reveal intimate details of interviews. Also populations are rarely sampled in a statistical manner, but rather musical ideas and performance practices are elicited from individuals. In true participant-observer fashion one talks to and plays with musicians and community members.

Performance Scholarship Again, using the arts for my example, I would like to talk about performance and scholarship. People studying performance in the arts in this country, unlike those in many other countries, are often seen as marginal by mainstream academics. Many of them work in isolation, at night, or in unsavory atmospheres. Judging paintings, sculptures, or performances is not a science; even criticism in the arts is inexact, political and trendy. In the performance sphere, a musical scholar may be required to compose or arrange the music, transcribe music from recordings, rehearse the musicians, and finally conduct the performances. Judging a scholar's output on records, video, or movies can be as problematic as that of performance. Fieldwork, selection of artists and pieces, consideration of the audience, arrangement or editing of a record, video, or movie, conceptual and technical control are all parts of scholarship and creativity.

For the Future

Indian and other minority scholars and students must not be satisfied with temporary appointments and experimental programs on university campuses but must strive for permanent infiltration of the disciplines, bringing their unique per-

TABLE 5

Rating of Institutional Cooperation — Research Funds for American Indian Studies*

	2 Year College	4 Year College	Univ. M.A.	Univ. Ph.D.	% of Total
Excellent	0.0%	0.0%	6.7%	11.1%	3.7%
Good	0.0%	3.0%	6.7%	18.5%	6.5%
Average	18.8%	12.1%	13.3%	11.1%	14.0%
Poor	40.6%	63.6%	40.0%	44.4%	48.6%
No Response	0.0%	6.1%	6.7%	0.0%	2.8%
Not Applicable	40.6%	15.2%	26.7%	14.8%	24.3%
N	32	33	15	27	107

*Percentages represent column totals unless otherwise indicated.

spectives to the forefront. New methods for judging achievement, ranking scholarship, rewarding service, and nurturing students and colleagues must be developed. Educating our colleagues about us has always been our burden and challenge. Now we and they must act.

Regular Fellowships In the talks about admissions and mentoring this morning, an allusion was made to minority fellowships. While I support raising more money for fellowships, I think we need to work with our institutions to make sure that minority students are also awarded regular, departmental fellowships and teaching assistantships. These close associations with faculty as either research or teaching assistants are an important part of graduate training. When minorities are perceived by the faculty as having a special pot of money, the faculty may give all regular assistantships to non-minorities, effectively selecting out the minority students.

Ethnic Content To get ethnic studies entrenched in the universities, we must infiltrate the academy. Courses with ethnic content can be developed and housed in almost all arts, humanities, and social science departments. Professional schools such as business, education, and social work certainly need our help in addressing minority concerns.

Disciplinary Stereotypes One other problem that has not been addressed in much of the literature is the idea that "you are what you study." In music if you study so-called "high art" music, it may imply that you are a better scholar than someone who studies tribal, folk, or popular music. In the same sense, scientists may be considered by some to be intellectually superior to humanities scholars because of the mystiques associated with their disciplines. People of color may be pushed into studying exclusively within their own ethnic boundaries by well-meaning professors and may teach in hyphenated disciplines for the rest of their lives.

If we are to liberate (in the words of Gordon and Dubois) the curriculum and our minority colleagues, we have to expand the boundaries of our disciplines and convince our non-minority colleagues to do so as well.

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RESPONSE

A. Charlene McDermott
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I'll begin with a note of thanks to Ms. Wilkerson whose draft paper is the point of departure for the first part of my commentary. Her presentation abounds with examples of revisionist literary and historical studies, especially those by contemporary black scholars, while at the same time she alludes to the significance and transforming power of works by Native American and Hispanic researchers in these and other humanistic fields. So rich a collage of examples itself contributes to strengthening the case for making available—both inside and beyond the Academy—a broader range of moral and intellectual options.

If an ironic aside be permitted, the same case is made by *Allan Bloom in his The Closing of the American Mind*[1], the irony residing in the fact that Bloom exemplifies, in the spinning out of his own observations and opinions, the very closed-mindedness he essays to expose and castigate. As Martha Nussbaum[2] so aptly says in her excellent review of Bloom's book "I have rarely seen such a cogent, though inadvertent, argument for making the study of non-Western civilizations an important part of the university curriculum." (I could not agree more wholeheartedly!) Nussbaum goes on to make manifest Bloom's "contemptuous ignorance" of traditions other than the Western and his consequent selection of "certain texts over others of equal intrinsic worth for reasons having to do with fashion and prejudice." Bloom's advice inevitably culminates in a curricular model and a philosophy of education "not informed by concern for the diverse needs of diverse groups of students."[3]

And yet, sad to say, Bloom's book is not merely *symptomatic* of our times, it is *emblematic*—perhaps the cultural symbol *par excellence* of the intellectual and spiritual atmosphere of Reagan's America, to judge from its having occupied the number one position on the *New York Times* Best Seller List for several weeks and from the plethora of warm critical acclaim it has received.

In fact, Ms. Nussbaum's review is all but unique in the consistently negative tone of its assessments. Thus the need for the present conference, and for the climate and endeavors it purports to promote are dramatically underscored, *directly* by our speakers this afternoon, *obliquely* by Allan Bloom, William Bennett and company, and *statistically* by the spate of disturbing data on retrogression in minority student and faculty recruitment efforts, on retention failures, on the pervasiveness of "pipeline" problems within public and private educational institutions alike, etc.

Indeed, the growing seriousness of the situation has evoked a great many responses (including those of all the panelists assembled here today), which vary enormously as to the originality, practicality and specificity of their analyses and prescribed strategies. Given the limitations of time, I'll mention just a few of those which have had the most profound impact on my own scholarly and administrative thinking and planning in this regard; this in the hope of stimulat-

ing further and deeper dialogue during the question and answer session immediately following.

In particular, I found provocatively useful a recent issue of *Change*[4] which contains, *inter alia*, some well developed and comprehensive procedures and practices for improving advising, counselling, testing and support services; for maximizing educational opportunities for minority students by evolving more creative bridge programs; and for devising coaching courses for test-taking skills, orientation programs, faculty mentoring programs, value-added teaching philosophies and improved data compilation techniques.

Useful Approaches

On another, but obviously closely related, level the creating of a nation-wide organization for black faculty[5], and the refinement of an Afro-centric understanding of black experience[6] provide grounds for optimism in their promise of counter balance respectively, to well-entrenched "mainstream" faculty networks and to the prevailing Euro-centrism of too many of our critical and hermeneutic efforts.

Still another item of potential interest whose scope is also national: in my capacity as Dean-in-Residence for the Washington based Council of Graduate Schools, shortly before I took the position as Provost at City College, I was (gratifyingly) involved in a task force on Minority Graduate Education, from which emerged some very concrete recommendations. One of the most interesting of these was the creating of a CGS Minority Graduate Deanship-inResidence, "minority" in the sense of the position's being open exclusively to a qualified person of color, and not in the sense that the range of the duly chosen person's activities were to be limited to minority issues and concerns. The impact of this new Deanship-in-Residence in ameliorating the climate in which minority graduate faculty and students function is already clearly discernible. Too, a congeries of unpublished materials (including some of my own) aired by some of my fellow Provosts at a recent "Urban 13" meeting in Philadelphia and centered on improving our respective state policy environments so as to promote the increase of underrepresented students and faculty members, was also somewhat helpful, but I would welcome your input in this crucial area.

Next, on a more personal note, I might add that City College's Core Curriculum has been fashioned with a great deal of sensitivity to the need to transcend Euro-centric concerns and, though the jury is still out (since this is the first year of our Core's implementation), thus far it seems to be succeeding admirably.

To give one final example, we at City College have benefited from the creating of several pedagogical models. Foremost among these is the development of a mentoring model for educating the next generation of college teachers—this, with its special focus on increasing the number of minority professors—was awarded substantial funding by the Ford Foundation. Other instructional and research models, pivotal in the intensification of our exchange programs, have resulted in increased cross-fertilization, especially, with China, Africa and the multi-cultural, multiracial domains served by the various Polytechnics in the United Kingdom.

A Comparativist View

Since my stated purpose in venturing into such a catalog is to provide a catalyst for discussion, not an exhaustive compilation of efforts and results, I'll stop at this point and turn instead to the task of drawing out a few of Ms. Wilkerson's concluding remarks in the light of my own experiences as university faculty member and administrator. I was struck, in particular, by the observations she made in passing about categorizations, distortion of canons and tacit cultural assumptions. These are obvious grist for the mill of one who (like myself) has been an avowed comparativist philosopher-logician-linguist from the time (thirty years ago) of my earliest endeavor as a teacher and scholar to the last moments of my most recently convened faculty task force (yesterday at 2 p.m., to be precise). In fact, as I have noted elsewhere, though with a slightly different emphasis, to ask whether or to what extent good teaching and research are comparative (in the sense of their taking seriously the substance and methodology of cultures and traditions other than one's own) is like asking whether or to what extent Napoleon had expansionist aims. More succinctly, I believe the expression "comparative educational theory and practice" to be pleonastic. For it is only by drawing on a wide variety of views and belief systems, and thereby attaining a rich stock of alternatives for purposes of comparison and contrast, that a genuinely critical appraisal of the beliefs, concepts, logical, grammatical and categorial structures presupposed by and constitutive of one's own theories and practices is possible.

More specifically, in my own case, the decanting (so to speak) of the logical, epistemological and linguistic products of the wineries of India, Tibet, Africa, Latin America and the Western Middle Ages, into twentieth Century bottles has proved extremely fruitful.

Distortions and Errors Turning first to the field of comparative logic and linguistics, some of the best research of the past two or three decades has resulted in the disclosure of an astonishingly large number of distortions and errors that arise when one mistakes the exigencies of one's own syntax and the constraints of (in our case largely Western) logic for features of reality. The old Zen adage puts it more graphically than the more formal technical studies do: viz., in such cases it is a matter of pointing to the moon and mistaking one's finger for the moon. There are numerous examples of this which I can make available afterwards, if there is sufficient interest.

Fragile Categories Easier to apprehend by the non-specialist, and no less fundamental, is the not-always-obvious fact that categorical apparatus, part of the legacy which membership in a particular culture bestows, is often, in the absence of contrasting alternative, erroneously endowed with the status appropriate to an eternal verity, rather than that of a mere useful grid for the assimilation and ordering of

insights. This point is playfully and perspicuously driven home in one of Borges' writings in which, in an alleged quotation from a Chinese encyclopedia, it is written that animals are divided into: "(a) belonging to the Emperor, (b) embalmed, (c) tame, (d) sucking pigs, (e) sirens, (f) fabulous, (g) stray dogs, (h) included in the present classification, (i) frenzied, (j) innumerable, (k) drawn with a fine camel-hair brush, (l) *et cetera*, (m) having just broken the water in the pitcher, (n) that from a long way off look like flies."

The moral is obvious, but again, I'll be happy to flesh out this skeletal remark with some refined and more technical studies on categorization, the most recent and noteworthy of which is George Lakoff's path-breaking study of what categories reveal about the mind, provocatively entitled: *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things* (University of Chicago Press, 1987).

Intellectual Imperatives I want to go on playing the gadfly by focusing on a few of Professor Gordon's remarks. His vantage point, like mine, is methodological; his stance foundational. Thus I'll inset a cautionary note, as I think Ed Gordon also did (though perhaps more obliquely), about a certain kind of mischief which, if undetected, can distort and ultimately vitiate the collective efforts and goals we've been talking about at this conference.

Each one of us carries around so enormous a quantity of cultural presuppositions—baggage, if you will—that, as Dr. Gordon has made clear, we have not only a *moral*, but also an *intellectual* mandate to transcend these narrow presuppositions and thereby enrich what we do as educators. Unless we weave in the diverse strands of a variety of cultures, we do a disservice to the texture and color of knowledge. We are willy-nilly left with the jejune, a flimsy fabric, while simultaneously unaware of the kind of deprivation that's taking place.

Because of the limitations of time, I'll touch on just one more of the points so eloquently made by Dr. Gordon: viz, the heirs of the European tradition tend to want to find universals. Maybe the quest for universals is itself a reflection of cultural values; I suspect it is, because early on in the Aristotelian tradition, many good philosophers were actively involved in the search for linguistic universals. That in itself is not a bad thing, provided there is a counterpoise in the form of a quest for subtle or blatant differences. These are surely not incompatible enterprises; i.e., a foray into the linguistic thicket may require a Whorfian approach on one level and a Chomskyean on another.

Balance and reflection from a variety of perspectives are to be preferred to projecting or introjecting universals into one's theorizing.

Formative Discourse To bring to a close my observations on the optimum role for faculty in meeting the national need for ethnic minority scholars (and continuing to move on the level of foundations and basic methodology), it has been said by Ludwig Wittgenstein that all philosophy (hence also *educational* philosophy) is an antidote to the bewitchment of the intellect by means of language. To my mind, one of the most profound and pragmatic explications of this dictum is to be found in the writings of the French theoretician Michel Foucault, one of whose key insights is that the discourse we use to describe and to assess institutions is not merely informative but *formative* of the objects and structures of which it speaks. By appropriate trans-cultural investigations and by utilizing some of the devices and strategies that accrue to Foucault's approach, I believe that one can come up with a more profound understanding and consequent recasting of the canonical concepts, precepts and structures on which our institutions of higher education are grounded. At considerable risk of underscoring the obvious I'll close by (1) recommending Foucault's writings to you in case you've not already acquainted with them and (2) by remarking that, in addition to the obvious *moral* imperative that good education cease to be the preserve of a self-appointed elite, there is also an *intellectual* mandate that we as teachers and scholars and students seek out the broadest range of insights and experiences possible, weaving African, Asian, Latin American, European, etc. strands into the fabric of the educational experience. Only thus can we counter what Alfred North Whitehead termed: "the self-satisfied dogmatism with which mankind at each period of its history cherishes the delusion of the finality of its existing modes of knowledge. This dogmatic common sense is the death of intellectual adventure. The Universe is vast."

Notes

1 Bloom, Allan D. 1987. *The Closing of the American Mind.* New York: Simon and Schuster.

2 Page 22 of her "Undemocratic Vistas," *The New York Re[illegible]ooks*, November 5, 1987, pp. 20-26.

3 [illegible], Allan D. p. 26.

4 N[illegible]une 1987.

5 *Chronicle of Higher Education*, November 4, 1987, pp. 7.

6 *Chronicle of Higher Education*, October 28, 1987, pp. A6.

WORK GROUP III REPORT

Moderated and authored by

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Issue III

How can faculty members work within disciplinary fields to enlarge the canons and boundaries of scholarship so as to include the interests, concerns and characteristics of African American, American Indian and Latino people?

There is much about the practice of scholarship, and the definition of fields of inquiry, which is arbitrary and conventional, determined more by historical accident than by factors essential to a given discipline itself. In the normal development of a discipline, its canons and boundaries are continually shifting in response to the work of living scholars or to events within the academic community or beyond it.

If the academy is to include non-European communities of scholars, it will have to accept challenges to those thresholds and definitions which have been excluding African American, American Indian and Latino scholars, in particular, by the imposition and maintenance of requirements relative to method, content, focus, timing, form or any other taken-for-granted norm. To be receptive to such changes is to advance serious scholarship and to seek fresh perspectives and broader-based inquiry.

But, we have not found receptivity; instead, we have found a lack of respect for and even hostility toward "minority" scholars and scholarship. Group members acknowledged the frustration we have all experienced at some time when we realized that our professional interests are not shared by our white colleagues. Our attempts to get them to understand the concerns we have are often brushed off, considered to be inconsequential, unimportant, outside the "mainstream."

Our discussion focussed on finding ways that we could change that situation, on approaches that would lead to an awakening of our colleagues to the understanding that our interests and concerns are vital, not only to the academy, but to the development of the society. One member of the group, a university trustee, helped us to realize that if we are going to have impact on institutions of higher learning, we're not going to do it alone, and we're not going to do it effectively from the inside. It is important for us to appeal to a broader set of interests; we must reach out to our communities; we must reach out to allies—both inside and outside of higher education; we must act politically. With a broadened frame of reference, we began to talk about things that we could do to try to expand the range of concerns and issues that constitute serious scholarship *as we define it*..

First, we think it important to continue the thrust of what we have begun here in developing a group, an organization, a movement that will be multi-racial, that will be primarily, but not exclusively, composed of scholars and that will continue to press for research and scholarship that focuses on issues and concerns that relate to black, Latino and Indian communities.

Second, we want to identify scholars who are looking at issues that are important to our respective communities and to our lives and begin to share these lists with support groups and organizations. We want to connect like-minded people in different places so that they feel less isolated and so they can get moral support or constructive criticism or whatever might enable them to continue their effort.

Third, we think it incumbent upon us to increase our own activity in professional organizations and beyond that, to actively pursue positions on editorial review boards so that we can have greater influence—over the scholarly review process, over the agendas of the associations, over the critically important publications.

Fourth, we want to gather and share a list of organizations that encourage and support non-mainstream academicians; we need to engage their support and solicit their encouragement.

Fifth, we consider it extremely important, given the current state of national affairs, of higher education, of our communities, to generate a statement that communicates the depth of our concern and clarifies what we are trying to do here. We know that the number of African American, Latino and American Indian professors is declining; we have anecdotal evidence, at least, that many have left the academy because their research interests and scholarship were not accepted by their white colleagues. To stem the tide, we recommend that a multi-racial task group be constituted and charged with responsibility to draft a statement on this issue for broad public dissemination. With such a statement as a basis for dialogue and action, we may get people to re-examine the issue of what true scholarship is.

Sixth, if we compile and distribute a list of academicians who are doing "non-mainstream" research, we can increase their visibility and facilitate their gaining recognition by inviting them to lecture on campuses, including them in program reviews, finding forums in which they can promote their ideas.

The remaining suggestions have to do with future meetings of this group. We think that more graduate students should be invited and that some non-academics like political figures and maybe members of the press (the mainstream press) should be included as well. We feel that each of us should go back to our institutions and identify a white col-

league, faculty or administrator, to invite next time. We especially want Euro-american faculty to be involved in the discussion; to share their concerns with us. We need to understand the perspectives they bring to this issue. In the same vein, we decided that it's important to invite one or more editors of important journals in various disciplines so that we can, in the same way, discuss with them their conception of what is legitimate and acceptable scholarship. It will be useful to try to make them understand our concerns and hopefully, even to broaden their perspectives a bit.

Seeing and hearing Arturo Madrid, Edgar Epps, James Blackwell and John Henrik Clarke made us appreciate how difficult this struggle is. These are people who have been fighting this fight for a long time and who have emerged with a considerable amount of stature. It won't be easy or quick, but it's the good fight and it's worth doing.

FOLLOW UP MEETING

From July 15-17, 1988 the participants in Workgroup III reconvened to continue to work on the general statement of concern which was so strongly recommended in item 5 above. William Trent, University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana, chaired. The group subdivided into four to focus on the social sciences, the humanities, the arts and the natural sciences and how their disciplines can be enriched from an inclusion of non-European perspectives. Each sub-group wrote a paper which was edited into the document entitled ENRICHING THE SCHOLARSHIP OF THE DISCIPLINES WITH MINORITY PERSPECTIVES.

WORK GROUP III REPORT - JULY 15-17

Moderated by

William T. Trent
Department of Educational Policy Studies
University of Illinois, Champaign

The group that came together July 15-17 was charged with preparing a statement entitled, "Enriching the Scholarship of the Disciplines with Minority Perspectives."

On the face of it, such an assignment suggests a "How to" agenda. And, indeed, the original question before the November conference was "How can faculty members work within disciplinary fields to enlarge the canons and boundaries of scholarship so as to include the interests, concerns and characteristics of minority people?"

What participants found, however, is that there are no simple "How to's." And that is for at least three reasons:

First, the how to's must vary because of differences among disciplines—differences of knowledge type, of personnel, of history, of praxis, to name only the most obvious.

Second, for the majority of present-day scholars in the disciplines, there is no general concensus in support of the need to make changes; "how to," therefore, will get no general attention until "why" is explicitly and compellingly addressed, perhaps even discipline by discipline.

Third, the Catch 22 problem in all the disciplines is that, while adding and keeping scholars from underrepresented minority groups is very difficult when disciplines are not amenable to their interests, concerns and characteristics, the absence of these scholars is itself the main reason why "enlarging the canons and boundaries of scholarship" to include those very interests/concerns/characteristics is still low on the agenda of most disciplines today.

In response to these complex realities, participants worked both in discipline-related subgroups and as a committee of the whole. They found that, while there is a growing literature on the need for scholarly diversity in some fields, in others the emphasis must still be on bringing present-day scholars to an awarness of why their disciplines will suffer without it.

It became clear that more work would be necessary before the group's "statement" would be ready for publication. The statement will therefore be published as a separate document, following the further work by members of this group, with additional participation of scholars who have studied the effects of scholarly point of view (experience, culture, values, group membership) on the products of scholarly work—published knowledge and organized practice, and the disciplines, institutions and people who carry them on. Target date for the publication is winter, 1989-1990.

At the same time, it became clear to participants that there are practical steps for young minority group scholars in all fields that can help them make their way to successful academic careers. How (and why) to deal with the essentials of grantsmanship, publishing and professional associations are among the topics to be covered in a second publication, "Memo to new faculty," also planned for winter, 1989-90.

ISSUE 4

Incentives and Rewards

INTRODUCTION

How can current incentive and reward systems be used or modified to make changes necessary to bring African Americans, American Indians and Latinos into scholarly careers?

Some assumptions

The current system of recruitment and training for the academy is not effective for African Americans, American Indians, Latinos.

Faculty members play key roles in identifying, attracting and supporting students who become successful scholars.

Faculty members carry on their careers within specific institutional, professional and personal circumstances. While the motivations of individual faculty members are certainly not predictable in any simple way, it is possible, from studies, anecdote and experience, to suggest kinds of rewards, requirements and pressures which are incentives for present faculty behavior and which could, with adaptation, serve equally well to support needed changes.

Some incentives are within the control of faculty members and faculty groups; many are not, or not completely so.

Some incentives

Scholarly:

research into curricular changes and ways of training that enhance the success rate of minority scholars-in-training.

Institutional:

amenities (clerical services, student assistants, travel funds, physical environment); administrative and peer support (departmental and university seminars on the issues; recognition); funding for special efforts (or other compensation).

Career:

salary, promotion, professional prestige; research funds and facilities.

Personal:

satisfaction of sense of social responsibility, of professional effectiveness.

Some initial questions

How does the current faculty incentive system contribute to the low numbers of African Americans, American Indians and Latinos completing doctoral studies?

What changes in faculty behavior would be the most effective to increase these numbers?

Given the range of incentives (sticks and carrots) that influence faculty action, which would be most appropriate and effective to influence faculty involvement in recruitment and support of minority graduate students or otherwise to bring about changes needed to reach to goal of more minority scholars? What are pitfalls to avoid? What constraints will operate?

Are there programs in which faculty are involved specifically to increase number and/or success rates of minority scholars-in-training?

Can you suggest:

- studies or action programs that universities could attempt in order to increase the involvement of faculty in the academic careers of minority graduate students?
- What would be appropriate theoretical/construct underpinnings for such studies or programs? What would define and measure success?

The foregoing statements and questions are based on work of the National Advisory Council in preparation for the Conference.

The Role of Faculty in Developing Minority Scholars:
Incentives and Rewards

J. Herman Blake
Eugene M. Lang Visiting Professor of Social Change
Swarthmore College

For fifteen consecutive years I served as the principal academic/administrative officer of an institution of higher education. From 1972-1984 as Provost of Oakes College, a unit of the University of California at Santa Cruz, and from 1984-1987 as the President of Tougaloo College in Mississippi. One was a prestigious public university, strongly research oriented and liberally funded from both state and private sources; the other was a black private college, financially plagued, but with a distinctive history of excellence in educating students from Mississippi. This service in very different educational environments leaves me with the conviction that the theme of this conference is very important for us as a nation as well as for those of us with a personal commitment to the issues. Developing incentives and rewards which will motivate faculty to become mentors and otherwise help increase the numbers of African Americans, Native Americans, or Latinos will require the careful articulation of the culture of higher education, which so often mitigates against this goal, and an analysis of the culture in sensitive and insightful ways. This presentation is a modest beginning toward that end.

A Window of Opportunity

Need for New Faculty The evidence would suggest that we are facing a window of opportunity which is unprecedented. In a recent national analysis of faculty, two respected scholars concluded that in the quarter- century between 1985 and 2009 at least two-thirds of the entire 1985 faculty will have to be replaced. (Howard R. Bowen and Jack H. Schuster, *American Professors: A National Resource Imperiled*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1986, 197-98). This means that in each five-year period during that time, from 70,000 to 130,000 new faculty appointments will have to be made.

At the 1987 meetings of the Western Colleges Association in San Francisco other commentators gave support to this view. Donald C. Hood, Vice President for Arts and Sciences at Columbia University pointed out that 60 percent of the full-time Arts and Sciences faculty at Columbia are tenured, and 44 percent of that faculty are scheduled to retire by the year 2000. He further pointed out that their research showed that the pool they recruited from had decreased by one-half from what it was in the early 1970's and that it would not increase in size for at least 6 to 8 years. This dynamic situation was further underscored by the comments of William H. Pickens, the Executive Director of the California Postsecondary Education Commission. He indicated that by the year 2000 some 3,000 faculty will retire from the University of California alone, while enrollment at the University is expected to grow by some 32,000 students. Therefore, by the year 2000, the University of California alone will need another 6,000 faculty. Even higher levels of faculty turnover are predicted for the California State University and College System, as well as the community colleges.

These analyses suggest that from the East to the West Coast, and in many other parts of the country, the demand for new faculty will rise dramatically in the coming years. What is more, the students they will have to teach are becoming increasingly diverse.

Growing Minority Population On a national scale, racial and ethnic minorities make up a growing proportion of the traditional college-age population, those 18-24 years, and that ratio will continue to increase. In 1985, minorities comprised 25 percent of the total U.S. population between 18 and 24. That proportion is projected to rise to 29 percent by 1995, 31 percent by 2000, and 39 percent by 2025. (James R. Mingle, *Focus on Minorities: Trends in Higher Education Participation and Success*, Denver, Education Commission of the States, 1987.)

What is more, this national trend is even more pronounced in the five Southwestern states of Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico and Texas, where 33 percent of the total population were minority in 1980. Moreover, 45 percent of the children under five years of age were minority, and by the year 2000, racial and ethnic minorities will become the majority of the people in the Southwest under the age of 30. (Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, From Minority to Majority: Education and the Future of the Southwest, Boulder, 1987).

Thus the next twenty-five years point to the confluence of events which presents a unique opportunity for those with the concerns we share at this symposium. There will be a growing demand for new faculty, and the pool from which new students will be drawn is becoming more diverse. There

could not be a more appropriate time to consider how we prepare minorities to take advantage of a favorable need situation in academia.

But Fewer Minority Graduate Students On the other hand, the number of minorities completing college and entering graduate school has declined steadily since 1976, and the possibility of developing an adequate cadre of academic talent from the minority community is extremely limited. Unless there is some major intervention to alter this pattern, we will see the opportunities pass us by. Evidence of this is seen in the number of minority Americans who are completing doctoral degrees. The National Academy of Sciences reports that from 1977 through 1986 minority Americans received fewer than 10 percent of the doctoral degrees awarded each year. Indeed, during this period, the number of blacks awarded doctorates declined by 27 percent, while American Indians, Asians and Latinos saw a modest increase in their numbers. Given the expected need for new faculty, unless this pattern is changed significantly, we will not have the faculty to adequately meet the needs of a changing population. (National Research Council, *Doctorate Recipients from United States Universities*, Washington: National Academy Press, 1987). Moreover, as shown in Table 1, in addition to very small numbers, we must address the matter of disciplinary spread; for Blacks, in particular, but also Latinos, are primarily concentrated in one field, education. This raises the specter of unnecessary and possibly contentious competition among us when we need much more cooperation.

It is of particular interest to me to see that the decline in the number of Blacks earning doctorates occurs at the same time that the number of students entering private black colleges indicated a similar decline in their intention to pursue the doctorate. According to the ACE/UCLA annual Freshman Survey, 47 percent of those entering private black colleges in 1976 aspired to earn a doctorate. By the Fall of 1987, that number had declined to 33.6 percent. This decline occurred while the number of students entering all other institutions aspiring toward a doctorate remained constant, 15.8 percent in 1976 and 15.7 percent in 1987. Since the historically black colleges and universities have long been a source of new academic talent among Blacks, this drop in both degree aspirations and doctoral achievement is worthy of much more careful analysis.

In summary we can say that the evidence indicates there is a growing opportunity for minority appointments to faculty positions because of the prospective decline in faculty. Secondly, the changing composition of the college-age population in particular, and the American population in general, shows there is a definite need for an increased minority presence in our colleges and universities. However, the small number of minorities achieving Ph.D.'s, their overwhelming concentration in a limited number of disciplines, and the significant decline in black doctorates indicate that motivating faculty to mentor more minorities for graduate study is a very important task. However, it is not an easy one.

The Unspoken Value System

One of the challenges to increasing the faculty role in recruiting and mentoring minority students toward academic careers lies in the deeply-rooted value system found in the leading institutions in this country. While there have been some analyses of statistical trends and "pipeline" issues, a careful analysis of the shared values still has not taken place. However, when we look at why even those who do make it through graduate school do not find academia a very friendly place, the underlying value system keeps cropping up.

Among these values there is the question of just who is *qualified* to serve on the faculty at the major research institutions. Apart from the question of who is *tenurable* at these institutions, there is the more fundamental question of who is *eligible* for employment. The evidence is clear that simply acquiring a doctorate is by no means sufficient. Some indication of this is seen in the remarks of Dr. Eugene Cota-Robles at the 1987 meetings of the Western Colleges Association in San Francisco. Dr. Cota-Robles, a biologist, has provided long years of distinctive service in the University of California system as a teacher, scholar and administrator. Under his leadership, the Santa Cruz campus of the University built one of the strongest programs in biology involving minority scholars. At its zenith, that Biology Department had four Chicanos and one Native-American with tenure, as well as a goodly number of minority graduate students and post-doctoral fellows. As an administrator at the Santa Cruz campus (Vice-Chancellor for Academic Affairs), Cota- Robles was also instrumental in the appointment of four Blacks to the Sociology Department and two to the Anthropology Department. In addition, there were a number of minority scholars in the other departments throughout the Santa Cruz campus.

Dr. Cota-Robles is now the Assistant Vice President for Academic Affairs for the University of California system, where he has direct impact on the appointment process at any particular one of the nine campuses. Speaking to the Western Colleges Association, he pointed out that in 1985 the University of California system made 275 new faculty appointments in tenure track positions. Of these 275 appointments, four were Black and seven Mexican-American.

It is very clear that when one of the nation's leading research universities, and an outstanding producer of graduate students, has such a dismal hiring record, there have to be some serious questions. This is particularly true since California is a state where the minority presence is rising very dramatically, and the state no longer has the luxury of time to make significant changes.

Cota-Robles states there appeared to be two issues which affected the hiring of minority faculty. The first was that of availability—one we are all concerned about—there simply are not enough graduate students coming through the pipeline. However, the second issue is much more evasive. He stated that the minority candidates reviewed at the campus level were not found to be sufficiently competitive by faculty search committees. He further asserted that in our

quest to increase minority faculty we must not only increase the availability but also the academic portfolio of potential candidates.

Which Doctorate, and Where from? This brings me back to my earlier question of not only who is eligible for employment at the prestigious research universities which so often set the standards by which other institutions and departments view themselves, but who is ultimately qualified for tenure? We know full well that in these leading institutions the *sine qua non* for initial employment is the Ph.D., and we need to communicate this to students as early as possible in their climb up the academic ladder. Applied degrees such as the Ed.D., D.S.W. or D.Crim. will not get any candidate past the initial stage of review. While all holders of the doctorate may be equal, in the system in which we operate some are clearly much more equal than others, and we do students a disservice if we do not sensitize them to this crucial fact.

Equally as important, but less discussed, is the fact that the Ph.D. *must* be earned at one of a select number of graduate institutions if one is to be considered eligible for initial appointment at one of the more prestigious institutions. The evidence speaks for itself. At one point we went through the catalog of the Santa Cruz campus of the University of California and noted the graduate institutions where our faculty originated. At that time, with a little more than 300 faculty in tenure-track positions, approximately two-thirds of them had their Ph.D. from only ten graduate institutions. Furthermore, I quickly learned as an administrator that there were some graduate schools, in fact most of them, where we simply did not turn to look for new faculty. We know that the Association of American Universities is a very select group, but even from within their numbers there were many considered too weak to provide faculty for the University of California. These are not the spoken or articulated values, but they nevertheless are the values which control behavior. Without a Ph.D. from one of about 20 leading research institutions in this country, a faculty candidate is not likely to survive the initial search process in our top universities.

"Surrogate Sons" However, even when the candidate has the right degree from the right kind of institution, that only qualifies one to buy a ticket; it does not mean that one will be ultimately permitted to board the train or survive the journey through the tenure evaluation process. At a much deeper level, there are real but never-discussed problems. This point was emphasized by Dr. Judith Stiehm, Vice Provost for Faculty Affairs at the University of Southern California, in her address to the 1987 meetings of the Western Colleges Association. Dr. Stiehm, speaking from experience, asserts that in considering the graduate mentoring process there is a subliminal problem, and that is the faculty search for "surrogate sons." She claimed there is a clear pattern of faculty reviewing the pool of Ph.D. recipients and seeking to replicate themselves in academia. However, when those who enter the pool are more dissimilar from those making the selection (women in this case), then the "prize" of faculty status is considered less valuable. A process which applies to women, can be assumed to be even more vitiating in the case of minorities. It would appear that in too many cases our very existence, with the requisite "formal" credentials, becomes a part of the problem. Those of us who have sat on appointment and tenure committees know full well how really, albeit subtly, the "surrogate son" hurdle works against us.

How these specific value issues fit into the larger perspective was repeatedly illustrated to me as a member of several search committees of the University of California, where we reviewed candidates for the very top positions (President or Chancellor), and as a member of statewide commissions and task forces reviewing campuses of the University. Frequently we met and talked with the leading faculty and administrators, as well as members of the Board of Regents. In these review and selection processes of absolutely senior people or of leading campuses, the values continued to be articulated.

Staying at the Top What I found most compelling was that even though some institutions were proud of their high-ranking sports teams, ultimately the only concern of the key decision makers was top ranking in terms of research, scholarship and academic programs. While national ranking was important, international prestige was even more important. The programs and people were valued in terms of the research support they could command, the quality of the graduate students they would attract, and the significance of their publication record and academic honors. Some of the strongest supporters of affirmative action—many people of good heart and generous consideration—were unequivocal intheir insistence that the University remain at the academic pinnacle. They were interested in changing demography or any other such issues only to the extent that it could be demonstrated that such consideration made substantial contributions to maintaining the University of California among the top ten academic institutions in the country, and preferably among the top five. In my opinion, many good and promising minority faculty candidates, as well as active faculty and administrators, were crushed by this insatiable drive to be the best. When the more subliminal problems articulated by Professor Stiehm are added to this quest for the top, we meet almost insurmountable hurdles in our efforts to improve prospects for minority scholars.

Oakes College at Santa Cruz

Before I came to these understandings, however, a most unusual and fortuitous set of circumstances gave me the opportunity to build a new college on the campus of the University of California at Santa Cruz. Starting in 1969, we designed the academic program, worked with the architects on the design of the buildings, and then recruited the faculty and students for a completely new academic venture, Oakes College at the University of California Santa Cruz. We like to say that we started with an idea and a cow pasture, and ended up with the college which opened in 1972. It was a heady experience, for we all had the enthusiasm and daring

of youthful adventures, and in many ways we succeeded beyond even our wildest imagination. It was an extraordinary privilege which reflected the support of a number of key people such as Chancellors Dean McHenry and Angus Taylor, President David Saxon and many others. Our success also made me painfully aware of the larger reality that faced us as well as the challenge we presented to that reality.

We were always a small academic unit, but the consequences of our actions were substantial. At our zenith we had a student body of about 600, of whom some 48 percent were minority. The faculty never exceeded more than 40 persons, but half of them were minority and about one-third women. The first black woman to be appointed professor in the history of the University of California system was a part of our group.

We worked hard to recruit our faculty. We went into the top graduate schools and diligently sought out minority scholars as well as the sensitive and responsive Anglos and convinced them to join us in this new and creative venture. At the time we were not aware that our success was partially due to the fact that we were riding the crest of the wave of minority students pursuing graduate degrees. We found outstanding minority scholars in such disciplines as Sanskrit and Sociolinguistics, including one who had a command of nine languages from Swahili to Serbo-Croatian.

The point I wish to stress here, however, is that we had a very strong *institutional commitment* to opening the doors of opportunity in the university, to changing the composition of our students and faculty, and to motivating both faculty and students to pursue the highest levels of scholarship and research. In thinking about the theme of this symposium, I think it is very important to show how the institutional commitment led to a series of actions which supported faculty in the pursuit of their scholarly goals, while at the same time providing them with incentives and rewards for mentoring and motivating minority students. It is crucial to reiterate, however, that we also had a *critical mass* of both minority students and faculty, there was minority leadership in the administration, and consequently there was a very positive climate for dealing with the issues we saw as germane without any reduction in the university emphasis on research and scholarship.

The University of California is primarily a "publish or perish" institution, and as a new college, the majority of our faculty came in young and untenured. The exceptional amount of time involved in mounting college efforts—planning and teaching in new programs and real interdisciplinary courses, trying to know each student in a class in order to build on individual strengths and overcome individual weaknesses, and the willingness to pursue research in areas related to pedagogy as well as traditional research—has been and could continue to be detrimental in terms of the faculty members' own scholarly development.

In addition to the time demands faced by all faculty, minority faculty face additional pressures that are far too often overlooked in most institutions of higher education. So much of their time is consumed by minority students in search of role models, identity, validation, counseling, or just the need to talk to a "brother" or "sister" about academic or personal problems. (Sometimes the students cannot articulate exactly why they need to "rap," they just do.) A related problem—seldom mentioned—is the need of so many liberal white students for catharsis which they feel can only be reached by "rapping" with minority faculty. Also, on a campus-wide basis, minority faculty members are "committeed" to death, for obvious reasons.

Protecting Vulnerable Talent A careful review of our initial complement of faculty compounded our concerns. At a time when we needed to develop programs and pursue pedagogical issues, our faculty were overwhelmingly junior (there were only two tenured faculty in our initial contingent), a large proportion of our faculty were still writing dissertations, and a large percentage were women and minorities who would face extra pressures within the system. From these characteristics we discerned several needs which became initial goals of a major faculty support program in Oakes College.

The first goal was to ensure that those writing dissertations had the encouragement and *opportunity* to finish. Secondly, faculty had to be protected from so many of the extraneous pressures which were found at Santa Cruz: excessive committee work and administrative responsibilities generated by the dual structures of Colleges and Boards of Studies (Departments), extraordinary tutorial responsibilities, and counseling (as opposed to academic advising) of students with problems or identification needs. Thirdly, faculty would have to get the support and encouragement which would lead them to pursue research and publication so they could establish their professional careers. Fourthly, there had to be a continuing discussion and review of pedagogical issues and curriculum development so that the scholarly work of faculty could be more effectively transmitted to students and meet student needs as a source of motivation to higher levels of performance.

If we were to succeed, it seemed imperative to reach all these goals, or we would be caught in a familiar trap: seeking basic institutional change, we needed extraordinary faculty commitment; yet such commitment could lead to insufficient academic research or failure to complete dissertations, both of which were imperative if we were to retain faculty dedicated to an institutional reordering of priorities. In building college programs and seeking new ways to approach a new student clientele, we were running the risk of destroying the involved faculty members, ultimately committing collegiate suicide in the process.

To reach both the institutional goals of the college and the professional/personal goals of our faculty, we had to develop a faculty support program reflecting our institutional commitment.

Release Time and Flexible Teaching Load The first procedure developed was to give individual faculty release-time from teaching in the college. This was done with the

recognition that the college would be able to call on them more fully in the future. Faculty remained on campus during release quarter(s) and performed certain necessary college functions (i.e. academic advising, faculty meetings) but were relieved of all teaching and administrative and committee assignments. The freed time was spent attending to the particular matter most affecting that faculty member: dissertation completion, necessary disciplinary research, or the planning of specific courses and programs requested by the college.

The second strategy developed was a flexible teaching load— not flexibility in terms of fewer courses, but flexibility as to when courses are offered. Traditionally, faculty at the University of California are expected to teach and carry on research projects throughout the academic year. To us, however, such expectations seem illogical if blindly followed across the board.

Although we see no inherent conflict between teaching and research, there are times when they are in temporary conflict. At certain critical times during a research project, it is often imperative that 100 percent effort be given to the project. Conversely, there are times in teaching when one needs to devote one's self fully to that function; for example, when planning new programs or when experimenting with new pedagogical techniques which demand a greater-than-usual course load in order to adequately conduct an experiment with sufficient control groups.

In response to this dilemma, the college periodically allowed selected faculty to rearrange their teaching schedules so that they taught their entire course loads during two of the three academic quarters, leaving the third quarter free for other activities. With the summer added to the third quarter, some faculty were able to have six consecutive months for research or dissertation completion without any loss to college programs. These procedures required no additional allocation of college funds.

The first major cost-associated strategy that the college developed was a summer salary program for all junior and some senior faculty. The college required the development of new and innovative curricular offerings and teaching strategies if we were to fulfill our missions. However, to ask faculty members to develop such programs on a part-time basis, during the academic year when they are already under considerable pressure, would greatly overload the faculty and at the same time result in superficial college offerings.

Support for Interdisciplinary Programs Several college programs, for example, were to be interdisciplinary. From years of experience on the Santa Cruz campus (which prides itself on its capacity to develop such programs), we conclude that truly successful interdisciplinary efforts require far more rather than less faculty time in course preparation, in communication during the course, and in necessary follow-up. We concluded, therefore, that the majority of the planning must be done during summer when the faculty were free of teaching and administrative responsibilities and could more easily balance program development efforts with on-going research.

Such a conclusion, however, dictated that we secure outside resources to pay faculty for their summer efforts. With assistance from Regent's grants, a Ford Foundation grant, and grants from private individuals, we were able during our first three years of operation to give every junior faculty member summer support. When appropriate, outside consultants were employed to assist in the planning effort.

Other Funding Support In certain cases, also, faculty were given college monies for tutorial and Teaching Assistant support, as well as for travel relevant both to their research and to planning for college courses and programs. Although the amount was very small, it was another manifestation of the commitment of the college to helping young faculty deal with the major issues facing them.

Special assistance for junior faculty in planning and writing grant proposals was provided by the college. A staff member was made available to assist faculty in any and all phases of funding their ideas. In some cases where Oakes faculty have received grants, all of the proposal writing was done by staff.

Where appropriate and possible, administrative staff called on funding sources on behalf of particular faculty. This was done during administrative trips to the East Coast when extra time was taken by the Provost and Assistant Provost to call on various agencies with faculty proposals before them, or when faculty requested specific information regarding a funding agency's policies and programs.

Intellectual Support In response to college and faculty concerns regarding pedagogical issues, evaluation of faculty, and the need to stimulate greater colleagueship among the faculty, Oakes College established several intellectual forums which were quite successful in stimulating faculty in new directions. These included a Pedagogy Task Force; an evaluative forum for the discussion every other year of each faculty member's professional development; and divisional forums designed not to discuss "business", but to explore areas of mutual interest.

In addition to conducting and disseminating education research and itself experimenting with different approaches to teaching, the Pedagogy Task Force interviewed faculty regarding successes and failures in the classroom and conducted regular college-wide workshops on pedagogy and the goals and missions of the college. The new faculty evaluation forum opened up the merit review process and permitted a dialogue between a merit candidate and the reviewing committee (formerly a secretive body in the University) on student peer evaluations of the candidate's teaching, the competency of his/her written evaluations of students, research progress, and the faculty member's overall contributions to the college. The divisional forums focused on topics for possible joint teaching efforts, and investigated common research interests which could lead to joint efforts or the sharing of information already gathered by a particular individual.

Student Support Services An indirect but very important aspect of our faculty support program was the creating of a

strong support services program which served the dual function of more effectively meeting students' needs and taking student pressures off the faculty. The program reduced the number of non-classroom contact hours between faculty and students while enhancing the quality of those hours. Faculty were permitted to focus more on student problems related to their courses and academic programs. Thus both students and faculty were more adequately served. This was particularly true for women and minority faculty who were frequently called upon to be models and tutors as well as teachers.

In addition to these specific activities, the college developed a position entitled "Preceptor for Faculty Development". This was a senior faculty member who had the responsibility to meet regularly with junior faculty, in groups and individually, to discuss their plans, progress and problems, and make recommendations to the college for adequately serving the faculty. The Preceptor for Faculty Development also reviewed all the responsibilities of each faculty member for the college, the Board of Studies (Department), the academic division, the Academic Senate and the central administration and mediated between all these groups to reduce the demands on each individual faculty member.

Results and Consequences As a result of the commitment of the administration, faculty made rapid strides in establishing their professional careers. Of our original complement of twenty-eight faculty, eleven were hired without their dissertations completed. All of them finished their dissertations within the two-year time limit allowed by the university. Faculty also maintained an excellent record of scholarly publication and moved toward tenure.

This program had significant consequences for the minority students at Oakes College. After several years we found that the college had the highest rate of students going on to post-graduate study of the eight colleges on the Santa Cruz campus. Moreover, graduate schools aggressively recruited our students because of their excellent preparation. What made this program work so well?

I believe one of the crucial variables was the minority leadership which helped to mitigate some of the values of the larger system which worked against our faculty and students. We did not change those values; instead, we built a program which helped our faculty to respond to the pressures of the university while meeting the commitment of the college to the students.

Faculty and Student Goals Another key variable was that the program was designed around faculty needs and reflected their goals and values. The program helped faculty to accomplish their own purposes while allowing them to mentor and motivate the students as well, a very clear college goal. There was a congruence between the goals of both students and faculty. Indeed, the best mentoring came in those situations where the students became involved in the faculty member's research, and on a number of occasions faculty published or presented papers with students as co-authors. This close interaction and mutual support demystified the status of faculty member for our students and gave them clearer insights into what it meant to become a scholar and do research. Many students found the experience so liberating that they eagerly looked forward to graduate school and eventual faculty status. Indeed, there are minority faculty now serving in tenured positions in several major universities who were early students in our program.

The issue of incentives and rewards for faculty to mentor minority students must ultimately be related to the values of the institution and how those values reflect or prevent a commitment to the goals of minority students. We need to systematically examine the cultures of the institution and articulate not only its manifest values but also those latent values which come out at such crucial times as appointment and tenure reviews.

Recommendations

In conclusion, there are some specific recommendations I would like to make based on this experience. First of all, in our institutions peoples of color, or those with the proper perspective and conviction, must be in positions of power over budgets and, particularly, appointment, promotion and tenure. These must be positions in which they do not merely recommend but actually control. This will allow them to infuse the evaluative mechanisms with the necessary sensitive and intuitive understanding which will permit better decisions. I cannot stress this too strongly.

Secondly, I reluctantly but still firmly recommend that we seek to bring legislative pressure on our major public research universities to get them to address the issues of equity and access with respect to faculty and graduate students. The legislators must review university budgets, and we are increasing the number of minority legislators in many states. We must work with them to raise the right questions when universities present their budgets for review and approval. It may even be necessary in some instances to use budget language to get the needed changes.

I make this recommendation with great reluctance, because I do not like outside interference in the academic and intellectual process. I believe the independence of our institutions is an important aspect of their greatness. However, when that value of independence conflicts with some of the others we have discussed, it means that public institutions will use the taxes of minority constituents to continue to deny them access and equity. Given this choice, I strongly urge greater legislative pressure.

To show the importance of these recommendations I need only refer to faculty discussions on various campuses of the University of California where the changing demographic composition was presented in very clear terms. Two responses were typical: on smaller campuses, they felt they could meet their enrollment goals without worrying about the changes. They felt there would always be enough students from the traditional pools to fill their classrooms and continue to justify their state support. On the larger campuses, a typical

response to the demographic data was that the new pool of students would not be qualified for university study. Therefore, they stated they would prefer to "downsize" and maintain quality. These are the values we are fighting with, and for these reasons I recommend much stronger legislative review.

There are great opportunities opening to us, but the challenges facing us, the obstructions in our way, are even greater. Eugene Cota-Robles points out that the window of opportunity is opening, but unless we take advantage of it by the year 2005, the faculty numbers will be rather stable until 2045. Given this reality we must work harder and we must succeed. The consequences of failure are too enormous to contemplate anything other than the dramatic success this symposium envisions.

RESPONSE

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First of all, administrations at universities have to be convinced that there is a compelling reason to recruit minority students and minority faculty.

The promises of the 1960's, that there would be more minorities in academia during the 1980's, are unfulfilled. For example, the number of American Indian faculty members in the University of Wisconsin System is only nine. Of that number, only seven are tenured. In history, which is my own field, only sixteen American Indians hold Ph.D.'s.

Something has to be done. In fact, many things. As we consider faculty incentives and rewards to bring about increased numbers of minority graduate students, initial observations are sobering. There is no single solution. The problems involved are complex and involve both the faculty and minority students. Internal and external factors are at work. Faculty cannot solve these problems alone. The obstacles are not just academic, they require improved human social relations and commitment from universities.

The problem is rooted in widespread attitudes. A 1987 report revealed that the State of Wisconsin and its citizens did not consider the education of minorities to be a top priority. "Affirmative action and civil rights are no longer major issues for the average citizen, student, teacher, legislator or faculty member," stated the report.{1} Similar indifference to the special needs of minorities is reflected nationally. If this attitude prevails, it will be very difficult to increase the number of minorities in academia.

To begin with, faculty in general are uninformed about the serious shortage of minority graduate students and minority faculty and what that shortage means. They have not yet made either the social or the economic inferences from the demographic changes which have already begun to bear on universities as on the society at large and which are, in part, the subject of this conference.

Ethnocentrism as an Obstacle

Ethnocentrism still plays a significant role in determining the attitudes of faculty and society toward minorities in graduate schools. In the 1960's, the education of minorities was a national issue, and it was assumed that a sufficient number of minorities in academic areas would be produced in the 1970's and 1980's. By the late 1970's, however, mainstream ethnocentrism towards minorities was publicly voiced. The Allan Bakke case was a well-publicized example symptomatic of a shift in mainstream attitudes. Bakke filed a suit claiming reverse discrimination and infringement of his civil rights because he was denied admission to medical school at the University of California when that university had an affirmative action program for admission of minority students.

American "individualism," which carries a positive image for much of society and within many universities, is often ethnocentric, as well. In the early years of the present decade, minorities were regarded as failures for not being able to succeed in achieving mainstream academic standards. This generally conservative attitude has been challenged by limited, specific efforts of universities to open their doors to minorities.

In the last three or four years, college recruiters have been eager to obtain bright minorities for their freshmen and first-year graduate classes. This effort is commendable, but what happens in fact is that the best of the minority students are taken by the top universities, leaving the rest of the minority students subject to rules that are inherently unfair. They have less than a fair chance when competing with mainstream students in mainstream academia, and they are generally not recruited.

Racism as an Obstacle

Frequently unconscious racism plays a part in expressed attitudes of conservativism or individualism and prevents progress on all fronts of life, including academia. Racial relations will have to be more effectively addressed if there is to be any possibility of increasing the numbers of minorities in graduate schools.

Universities, being partially closed communities, can provide suitable environments for improving racial relations and can thus set an example for the rest of the society. Both white Americans and non-white Americans need to improve attitudes. But since the former predominate, their values set the standards for academic institutions. Therefore, the burden of improving attitudes is primarily the responsibility of white faculty and administrators.

Non-racist faculty behavior Faculty members establish the standards for learning in education, faculty set examples for their students. They are role models, and because of their

positions as experts, students listen to them. If they can stop engaging in any and all forms of racist behavior, they will remove a major obstacle to enabling more minority students to succeed in graduate school.

Faculty can help the overall situation by not using language which expresses direct or subtle racism in the classroom. Faculty can encourage academic dialogue between mainstream and minority students to overcome racial and ethnic barriers, compelling a learning environment for both groups and contributing to a better climate for equal learning opportunity for all students.

White professors can act directly on negative stereotypes by offering information in their lectures about ideas contributed by minorities and their cultures. Frequently professors offer only the perspective which they know—from mainstream schools of thought. Since objectivity is an overall purpose of scholarship, presenting more than one view or perspective on academic issues would yield a better understanding. This approach would lessen the burden on minority graduate students who feel that they have to transform themselves intellectually into white Americans so that they can respond "correctly." Racial and ethnic differences should not block the opportunity to learn at a university.

Toward diversity One important starting place is to change common perceptions of what minority people can bring to the academy. At the very least, minority persons, because they are outside the mainstream, can offer fresh perspectives on inquiry, method and analysis in the disciplines. Minority students have different experiences, have different values and think differently in significant ways. Faculty need to recognize and appreciate imaginative thinking, unconventional creativity and different points of view.

Faculty Can Help

Before enrollment Faculty can help prepare minority undergraduates academically for graduate school. Faculty can inform undergraduates about graduate school. Undergraduate students may not ask, so faculty can help by offering this information. Professors could chat informally with students a few minutes before class begins. This effort conveys the message to the class that the faculty member is concerned about them, and this begins to build a bridge of confidence between faculty and students.

Faculty can serve as recruiters by being role models. Although it can be difficult for some minority students to relate to a white academic, a mainstream professor can be friendly and communicative to lessen the distance between his/her faculty role and the minority undergraduates who might contemplate applying to graduate school.

With students Faculty members can convey willingness to work with the minority student. This delicate relationship is difficult for the minority student to initiate. The diffidence many students feel in asking for the "favor" of an assistantship can be exacerbated when it is a minority student making the request of a majority faculty member.

Professors can network to keep track of minority graduate students. From this kind of informal attention, faculty can become interested in the progress of particular minority students. Such concern is a major step in advancing minority numbers in graduate school, especially in areas where minority students are few.

Academically and psychologically, each minority graduate student must work out his/her problems to keep life in perspective as a minority person becoming educated in mainstream academia. This balance is delicate and can be helped by concerned faculty who are willing to counsel, advise and listen. (The faculty member should be alert to the possibility that the student will interpret help as being patronized, exploited or tokenized.)

The relationship between the minority graduate student and the faculty is critically important. This relationship may be between a minority graduate student and a minority faculty members, but usually it is with a mainstream faculty member. The faculty member needs to be sensitive to the possible vulnerability of the minority graduate student, which varies depending on the degree of socialization to mainstream culture.

Minority students are faced with feeling "different" from other students all the time. Nor are the differences single—not just racial or cultural or ethnic or financial, but perhaps all of these and many more. To counter this pervasive sense of difference, the minority graduate student needs to feel the camaraderie of other graduate students in order to be able to develop academically. By establishing professional and social dialogues with mainstream students, the minority student will feel at ease to express his or her view, enabling an exchange of conversation, ideas, questions, and hypotheses. Faculty can do many things to encourage this kind of communication among students—and to discourage the negatively competitive interactions which can turn into scapegoating of minority students because of their differences.

It should not be assumed that minority graduate students who are admitted, even after completing a first year, will succeed without difficulties. Although it sounds perhaps paternalistic, faculty advisors could track the progress of graduate students, especially minorities. This would insure that students are not neglected. Advisors could encourage students to attend guest lectures, participate in colloquiums and dialogues with other graduate students. These efforts help make the minority student truly a part of the department.

Maximizing performance As expectations of graduate students continue to rise and change, universities must take care to match their standards to different pools of potential scholars so as to include and then bring along minority students from a wide variety of backgrounds. Retention is important, but beyond that universities need to find the ways to maximize the performance of these minority students over the course of their graduate studies.

The educator Robert Havighurst once remarked that American Indians encounter difficulty in schools as they continue further, and they drop out at a constant rate while

advancing to higher levels in school. This certainly applies to American Indians in graduate school, which points up the importance of faculty and administrators in assisting American Indian, as well as other vulnerable graduate students.

Incentives for Faculty Attention to Minority Students

As minority students make their way into college classrooms, they become the students of professors who may be weary of the civil rights movements of the 1960's, unsympathetic to students different from themselves or, if they are new faculty, more concerned with tenure than with teaching. White faculty members tend to link themselves to the mainstream academy, fortifying its traditional environment with its emphasis on research and publication. And at the more prestigious universities, the pressure is even greater to be more productive and perform above the average of peers at other universities.

Time, for faculty members, becomes critical. And it is a common student complaint that faculty don't give them time—are not in their offices, for instance, to answer questions and to advise. If this common behavior is to be changed, administrators will need to make imaginative use of incentives and rewards. For in spite of the real limits on their time, there is much that faculty members can do.

An information survey on incentives suggests that research monies are the general favorite. One of my departmental colleagues suggested that fellowships offered to minority graduate students be increased to include funding for the faculty member's research project on which the student would work, with faculty to act as mentor as well as research director.

Working together, as on research projects, is the best approach both for students and faculty members. Mainstream faculty members have so much to offer from their experience. To make this resource available to minority students, faculty members could be rewarded with extra funding to hire minority assistants. This working relationship, especially if the student assisted on the faculty member's research project, would also de- isolate the faculty member. Faculty have so much to do besides research that they would probably welcome minority assistants made available to them under such a plan.

(This suggestion does not preclude white faculty from acting as mentors for mainstream graduate students. Rather, the faculty can work with both mainstream and minority graduate students.)

Get outside funders to grant research monies to faculty, conditional on their hiring minority graduate students to work with them. Intra-university funding for faculty research could also be made available on such terms.

Another incentive would be to offer faculty extra leave time, or time off from teaching and committee work, for innovative projects that benefit minority graduate students.

Offer a workshop retreat on the importance of increasing the number of minority graduate students and faculty, and hold it at a nice resort.

To motivate minorities to aspire to faculty careers, there is an urgent need for more minority faculty, and that means financial incentives. American Indians who go on to college, for example, usually go into law, education or engineering.

Rewards

In universities there are usually a few faculty members who go beyond normal duties to help students. They are concerned about student progress, and they spend extra time with students. Unselfish with their time, they give a part of themselves to students. Currently, there is no system to reward these individuals.

Such concern to help students should not be penalized. Rather, their work should be appreciated and recognized. Faculty and administrators too often believe that faculty should do research, publish and teach, in that order. Because of the pressure on faculty to publish, faculty rationalize that there is not enough time to advise and talk to students. And so they neglect the needs of both mainstream and minority students. Without changed incentives, this picture will not change.

Minority Faculty

Inevitably, unless the university and departments are careful, the burden for shepherding minority graduate students through their programs falls most heavily on minority faculty members. Sharp attention to their needs and situation must be part of any plan to increase the numbers of successful minority graduate students.

Burn-out is a threat to minority faculty. Departments and administrations should recognize that minority faculty have even more calls on their time than mainstream faculty. Too often, minority scholars are "used up," their potential depleted, before they can fully develop as scholars.

Tokenism is a problem for all minority faculty members—their presence as the only member of their group to be in the department, perhaps in the institution. On them alone rest responsibilities and expectations not only as single—and perhaps isolated—members of their particular racial/ethnic/cultural groups but also as aspiring faculty members who may be the involuntary targets of burdensome stereotypes and both social and disciplinary ethnocentrism. The need to balance personal and academic interests, is not easy in such circumstances.

Leave time and reduced departmental duties are appropriate for minority faculty because the demands from the minority community tends to increase, making expectations on minority faculty persons simply impossible to meet. In the criteria for earning tenure—community involvement, quality teaching and publication—community issues are very important to minority faculty and sometimes weigh more heavily than the other two criteria. This danger can be counteracted by careful balancing of criteria by departments, adjusting them to bring the best mix of scholarly and personal development for the minority faculty member.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have emphasized not major incentives and rewards but rather the kinds of small changes—though some of them may seem large within departmental environments—that can tip the scales for minority scholars toward success.

What I have suggested does not need large financial commitments nor policy upheavals. Rather, the suggestions focus on ways to bring minority scholars and scholars-in-training into the academic mainstream while at the same time bringing their personal and cultural contributions into the academy. Both processes happen through direct contact and work with those who already are "the academy," the faculty members.

RESPONSE

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One of the greatest difficulties we are facing in our various attempts to maintain a demographically proportionate number of minorities in our system of higher education lies in finding the means to keep them there once they have been identified, recruited and then brought on board. Much thought and effort has gone into the question of finding effective incentives which might enhance the potential for survival in our institutions. Much that has been proven effective is already in place in many institutions across the nation. Given the availability of resources and commitment many of these methods could be duplicated elsewhere, although not all methods are uniformly suitable to all institutions.

A Mixed Environment for Change

Even with strong administrative support and commitment, the best plans are met with problems. Many of these difficulties are because both the best and worst of institutions of higher education lie in their very conservatism. As institutions which evolved out of the need to systematize and synthesize the best of our historical, cultural and scientific traditions and which would allow scope for growth and new development, but only under the most rigorous scrutiny, universities became bastions of tradition where change comes about only very slowly and with considerable difficulty.

Much as we would desire to bring about change, the catch is that without propinquity it is impossible. You have to be within the institution, a part of it, in order to bring about change. Universities need these changes. A diversity of ideas must be allowed to flourish in each discipline if it is to be viable. Without change and growth the body of knowledge would soon become static and out of date; yet, the same institutional conservatism which works to preserve quality also works against the institution's own long range needs. As we struggle to make our own inroads into the university, we frequently use up many of our numbers who as yet have only a tenuous foothold in the system. Because in so many universities these few minorities are the only people available to assist with bringing about change from within. As a natural consequence we lose many before even a few manage to survive. And yet our presence is also vital to the health and diversity of the university.

While we often blame university administration for many of our woes, in fact, the university is the faculty itself and the greatest resistance to change comes from that collective body. It is that body of which we must become a substantial part in order to effect change. The general faculty attitude toward what we refer to as Affirmative Action ranges from conservative indifference to a belief that such measures are eleemosynary rather than action based on enlightened self-interest. We are a part of the solution for the large institutions and not the problem.

Recently the voters in the state of California moved to have Spanish removed from all official documents. The same question is now being put to the voters in the state of Colorado. The argument in support of this measure is that all Hispanics in California, and now most likely in Colorado as well, are being "encouraged" to learn English. In fact, such measures only serve to increase the alienation of that already isolated segment of the population and make their access to English and upward mobility even more difficult. Meanwhile, regardless of the desires of the voters, business such as MacDonald's and Von's Market, to name just two, regularly advertise on television pragmatically in Spanish as well as in English. Thus changes are taking place in an arena where conflicting solutions are being offered and endorsed. Clearly, in spite of their tendency to resist, we must do everything we can to help in bringing about change in our universities and in our society.

Some Solutions

Where do we look for solutions? From the university administration's perspective one effective and visible means to change the institution is to hire a few carefully chosen and rigorously scrutinized minority administrators. But such visibility has significant drawbacks as well. The high visibility of such appointments allows it to be said from outside and from on high, and with a certain degree of glibness, that here is proof that the system is working well. From inside the institution the perception seems to be a little different. Any steps made to implement effective affirmative action on the part of a minority administrator are seen as part of a self-fulfilling prophecy while the minority faculty tend to evaluate the minority administrator in simple terms of, "What's he done for me today?" and seem to rally in support only under conditions of great duress.

There are some few measures which do yield consider-

able success. They are drawn from a confessedly narrow and cynical view that any, even seemingly marginal, success is nonetheless a success. In fact, the odds and forces against change seem to many of us so great that the best and healthiest attitude to endorse is one of a "rational" cynicism.

In essence, rewards and incentives seem to be most easily accepted when they are not seen as competitive to the existing structure. This might at first seem impossible, but in many institutions, systems which offer incentives to minority faculty or students are more easily accepted if they are put into place from higher up in the administrative chain than the departmental level. There may be little effort to disguise the fact that these resources initially came from a common source. The perception that the decision to allocate funds in this matter was made at the higher administrative levels tends to defuse much of the resistance which appears when allocations are made at the departmental level.

Many already established minority faculty express considerable resentment over the recruitment and hiring of minority faculty under systems of special opportunity or targets of opportunity. The resentment stems from the frustration at the inability of most universities to recruit and hire more than a very few minority faculty through the regular departmental recruitment procedures. Reliance on devices for recruitment which place minority candidates in the tenuous position of being viewed as marginal to the mainstream thrust of the institution are unacceptable to many established minority faculty. After many years of involvement in attempting to change and broaden recruitment procedures in institutions of higher education it is my own somewhat sober view that it is better to get into the institution from the side door than not at all.

Hiring Positions Under the system of "targets of opportunity," positions are made available and departments compete for them by identifying candidates whom they wish to hire. While the candidate may be seen as falling outside one of the critical or priority needs of the department, the identification of the minority candidate by the discipline faculty tends to create a more positive context for action in the recruitment process and in welcoming the new faculty member into the department. There have been numerous successes utilizing this particular method and because it may yet be quite sometime before minority faculty are recruited directly into departments by the usual procedure, the special setting aside of one or two positions within the institutions especially for minority candidates identified by the department may continue to be one of the most effective means for changing academic demography.

Still, this is a solution which at the moment is working well in the University of California system where numerous new faculty positions continue to become available. Not all universities are in a position to sacrifice precious few available faculty positions to this process. It is my own strong opinion however, that failing such drastic and even arbitrary measures, no significant or continuing improvement of this most critical problem facing all American institutions of higher education will be achieved.

Research Funds The pressure on both faculty and graduate students to succeed in an academic environment which they are at the same time attempting to change frequently means that traditional avenues of research support may not be available with sufficient regularity to ensure success in their research endeavors. The availability of special research funds in support of minority faculty research efforts is one of the most effective means of assisting junior faculty to gain a more solid foothold in the academic institution. If these funds are administered carefully and set aside at the central administrative level there is little problem resulting from resentment on the part of the general faculty, since regardless of the source, these funds are not seen as competitive with other general faculty research efforts.

The "Bridge" Program Model

While not directly related to the category of incentives, in my view, one of the most important elements required in the process of changing the demographic makeup of the university is the task of making the newcomer, be it faculty or student, aware of the full parameters of the new institutional environment. Long accustomed to working in isolation from any established peer group on his way up towards the university, the minority student and even new faculty member, may not clearly see all of the pitfalls, the signals for caution or for opportunities.

In the California State University system and in a few of the UC institutions there are programs much like those already nationally established programs in the sciences and engineering which work intensively with a small group of students before they enter the university. While the well-established science and engineering programs work with minority students who have already declared college aspirations and who have demonstrated ability in the sciences, the Cal State and UC programs work with students who under normal circumstances would not be admissible to the system and who form a high risk group. Both types of effort are of immense importance and have had great success, the latter type is of particular significance because it has achieved such remarkable success with a high risk group.

In essence, a group of minority students who have applied for admission to the institution but who, on the basis of past performance, test scores and grades, would not have been admitted, are invited to enroll in an intensive live-in program on the campus for a month to a month and a half. During this time they are acquainted with the processes and physical structure of the campus. They are worked quite intensely but at the same time regularly given a sense of the potential for success contained in their own self-determination. At UCI we have had such success with the Summer EOP program that the retention rate of these high risk students has become higher then the campus average. While one month of indoctrination cannot possibly compensate for twelve years of inadequate preparation, nonetheless I have consistently noted that

the sudden awareness of the power of one's own motivation in affecting one's future, together with a familiarity with the physical environment and procedures before the first formal date of classes, has achieved in California quite a few minor but extremely important miracles.

Somehow there needs to be another such boost at the entering graduate school level and again for junior professors. Certainly something of a much more subtle and specialized manner would be required. However, in a very significant way what we are speaking of here is something in the nature of a socialization process. New minority graduate students need to be routinely informed that the rules learned in undergraduate school are now in graduate school going to change. Graduate school is not only more difficult but there is much more evaluation of each individual's progress. Students can no longer sit in their classes as though in front of the TV monitor. The TV monitor is now also looking back at them. Faculty remember each student's performance from one class to another and from one year to another and discuss students' progress amongst themselves. This is a significant change from the undergraduate's sense of taking a string of, one hopes, at least intellectually related classes in isolation from each other. A graduate student who sees himself in isolation from his peers and from his faculty may miss many opportunities and thus face grave difficulties in achieving success.

Likewise, the rules for survival learned in graduate school will need to be modified when becoming a junior colleague in a university faculty. While it seems obvious that before achieving tenure, the junior faculty member might well consider exercising some reserve and caution before heatedly defending his intellectual convictions in argument with a senior colleague. Such pragmatism and conscious self-interest may strike an idealist as unnecessary. While such attitudes are a matter of personal and individual conviction, the loss of each minority faculty member is a great blow to our collective effort. I am convinced that we need to do much more in the arena of graduate student and junior faculty mentoring. While I am confident that much of this goes on informally and with regularity in many institutions, I also fear that there are many situations in which minority graduate students as well as junior faculty are trying to survive isolated from regular contact with any senior mentor. Given the gravity of the potential negative results in loss of human resources, the costs of establishing a mentoring system for faculty as well as graduate students are slight and certainly merit the investment.

The Demands of the Profession

During the past twenty years we have witnessed changes in the status enjoyed by university faculty. In a short period of time we have seen this profession go from one which was highly respected and relatively well-paid to one that was at least respected, until today when it has become a profession which engenders little of either. For those minority scholars who do decide to embark on an academic career regardless of its diminished status, a particularly strong dedication is required. No longer is the university such a nice place to work; moreover, those minority faculty who are eventually recruited are expected to do much more than their share of academic service. Besides having absolutely impeccable records of distinction in research and teaching, they must in addition and simultaneously assist the institution in upholding a respectable semblance of compliance with affirmative action directives and thus must be always visible on numerous academic committees, many more than their majority colleagues. In addition, they are deeply committed and selflessly bound to provide regular and consistent support to their minority faculty colleagues and to provide regular support to minority students and their organizations to a level which is absolutely incomprehensible to their majority colleagues.

As Trevor Chandler once very aptly said, "We are all just soldiers." We are recruited, but we are expected to know what risks the job entails and to expect no sympathy nor special consideration as we fall in the course of duty. The system is always hard at work attempting to find fresh recruits to continue the process, but without realizing that they cannot be replenished at the rate at which they are being used up.

Still idealistic and devoted minority scholars continue to attempt to gain a foothold in spite of these great odds. In a very real and practical sense, one of the reasons for this may be that higher education continues to provide for minorities in this country one of the only effective doors to social mobility and political access, avenues which are much needed and longer overdue for us.

The regular and systematic enhancement of opportunities for minorities in higher education is vital for the institutions themselves, in spite of the fact that they so often appear impervious and resistant to change. Minority representation is needed in all aspects of the American scene. Faculty diversity in our universities is necessary because without it we cannot be successful in bringing more of the underrepresented population through the doors of the institutions and out to where they can help to effect change.

RESPONSE

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The Problem

Graduate education has long been recognized as the most effective path for preparing future leaders in the arts, humanities, sciences, and the various professions. Regardless of the quality or scope of one's undergraduate education, without the advanced training provided at the graduate level, one is seldom in a position to create a body of new knowledge or to define the research agenda of his or her field. Graduate and professional education is statistically the key to preparing future leaders.

It is against this backdrop that the declining number of minorities seeking graduate degrees in the core academic disciplines is a source of deep concern. Minority groups have historically been represented in graduate studies only at a very low level and this trend stubbornly persists. For example, out of the 1000 physics Ph.D.'s granted last year, only 6 were to Black Americans, and only 3 were to Hispanics. In 1983, there was only 1 black computer scientist who received a Ph.D.—in spite of the burgeoning demands in that exploding field. But, remarkably, even in light of these minuscule numbers, minorities pursuing graduate education in the central disciplines seem to be in a general decline. Things are getting worse. How can this be? And why is there not more national attention being directed to this issue?

To emphasize the magnitude of the problem, note that even though Hispanics constitute 6.4% of the U.S. population, they received less than 3% of the doctorates awarded in 1980. As pointed out by Wilson and Melendez in *The Educational Record* article "Down the Up Staircase" (vol. 66, Fall 1985): "minority enrollments in higher education plateaued in the 1970's and, especially with Blacks, have declined ever since. The consequence of such decline at the undergraduate level has a "ripple effect" seen in reduced numbers of graduate students, professional students, and those available to fill faculty and administrative positions".

In some important disciplines—which will become increasingly significant as society becomes more and more dependent on technology, the situation is even worse. A June 1, 1984 editorial in *Science* states, "Although yesterday's demagogues no longer bar the schoolhouse doors, the retreat from the crudest forms of educational discrimination has not automatically brought expected gains for minority students. Nowhere are problems more persistently acute than in graduate and professional study in science and technology. Blacks, Hispanics, and Native Americans make up 19% of the U.S. population, but receive only 8% of doctoral degrees annually. Until minorities close the 'grad school gap' in scientific and professional education, the real challenge to the nation will remain unanswered."

Lest we forget the background that has created the situation we are now struggling to overcome, consider the evolution of options for a Black in my home state of Kentucky. In "The History of Louisville Municipal College", James B. Hudson reports...

> Blacks had virtually no opportunity to pursue a higher education prior to the end of the Civil War. During Reconstruction the Freedmen's Bureau and the American Missionary Association were instrumental in founding a number of higher institutions for blacks in the former slave-holding states. However, as most blacks were illiterate due to the prohibition against education for slaves, few were prepared to take advantage of the limited higher educational opportunities then available.
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> After 1876, the higher education of blacks was affected by the evolution of the system of legal segregation. The influence of Booker T. Washington and a number of philanthropic organizations secured the opportunity for a higher education for blacks, but a kind of education designed to reinforce the segregated social system. Consequently, blacks, if they were to be educated, would receive an education suited to their "place" in American society.
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> Prior to 1950, the "Day Law" (enacted in 1904), which prohibited blacks from attending white colleges and universities, limited the higher educational opportunities for blacks in Kentucky. In an effort to provide such opportunities for blacks in Louisville, the Louisville Municipal College for Negroes was established as a segregated branch of the University of Louisville... This college came into being as the result of black political activity in the 1920's. The college opened in February 1931 and closed in June 1951 as a consequence of the desegregation of the University...

Imagine the obstacles encountered by generations of Blacks as they had to accommodate to the strictures of first having almost no higher education opportunities, then to having the option to pursue studies targeted to keep them in their place, to then finally being accepted into desegregated institutions that really did not want them. Is there any doubt as to why today there are such disparities in the representation rates of minorities in graduate school? More disturbing, however, is why the rate of growth of the number of minorities is now declining.

There are, of course, some known causes of the decline. Studies suggest that many minority graduate and professional students borrow substantial amounts of money to support their education and that they encounter serious repayment burdens, particularly since these new loans are in addition to debts associated with their undergraduate education. The double calamity of rising college costs and diminished federal support serve only to make matters worse. But there are

many other reasons as well.

I have been asked to respond to the question of how effective incentives might be in encouraging faculty to directly intervene in trying to increase the number of minorities in graduate education. The focus on the faculty role is one of the unique aspects of this conference. Most other studies have dealt with the role of the federal government, funding issues, the role of advisors, etc. But, when all is said and done, it is the faculty who play one of the most critical roles. Faculty are responsible for recruiting graduate students, for awarding them teaching assistantships and research assistantships, and for mentoring them once they have arrived on campus. It is in this context that I examine below some of the factors that might influence faculty participation in seeking lasting solutions.

What Motivates Faculty to Act?

Faculty are human beings. Indeed, they are very human and have sensitivities that are, by and large, quite responsive to certain external stimuli.

The goal of most faculty members in a research university is to become preeminent in their area of specialty, to develop and maintain the respect their colleagues and students, to have a degree of financial security, and to be able to exercise some control over the policies and development of their university. In decreasing order of significance, the faculty member's allegiance is normally first to other members of his or her research specialty (within which he or she may also have some spectacular enemies), to the Department, the College, and then to the University as a whole. This is the natural order of things. It is, one might say, as it should be.

In this context, the professional and social interconnections in the academic environment do little to encourage faculty to make extraordinary efforts to deal with the problem of underrepresented minority groups in graduate education. Except for those faculty members who—by their own experiences or personal commitment—are specially dedicated to solving this problem, faculty may even perceive that such efforts are counterproductive to the attainment of their goals.

Yes, counterproductive. The best way to advance as a scholar is to work on the problems that are widely acknowledged to be the most difficult and significant in the field, and to involve graduate students who statistically have the best chances of becoming outstanding scholars in their own right. False perceptions that, for whatever the reason, a minority student won't be able to persist on a particular project over the long term, or will not be able to be as productive as a non-minority student, raise the specter of one ghost that leads to the exclusion of many minority students.

Colleagues often view faculty who have minority students as being dawdlers engaged in a social reclamation project, rather than a bustling scholar pursuing a frontier research project. If there is not a general consensus within the department that making extraordinary efforts to increase the number of minority students is a priority of the department, a faculty member who does undertake such efforts may gain no added respect from colleagues and in many cases, may lose respect and be ostracized. Once again, the end result can be a disincentive.

I should also mention some other aspects of the faculty ethos. By and large, faculty do not like to be "told" what they should do by "administrators" (even when faculty might be simultaneously clamoring for visible displays of strong administrative leadership). After all, administrators know less about the field than the faculty, they are farther away from the day to day problems that arise in the field, and indeed, there are many cases where, inappropriately, administrators appear to sacrifice honored tenets such as integrity of scholarship, quality, and so on, for the sake of expediency. Thus, for faculty members, administrators are to be taken very cautiously.

Administrators themselves contribute to the problem by, on one day, exhorting departments to become the very best in the world, and haranguing them about a borderline tenure candidate, while on the next day stressing the importance of altering certain standards to increase the minority student population, without putting these seemingly contradictory demands into a global context where, indeed, they coexist very well.

The intense competition for advancement causes faculty to be cautious about the utilization of their time for any activity not directly associated with the achievement of their scholarly goals. The concept of what it means to be a professor—a teacher, mentor, as well as scholar—can easily be lost. And more often than not, faculty find reinforcement within the cocoon of their department for the notion that ignoring such "administrative distractions" is to be commended.

My goal in developing this perspective is not to dwell on what might be wrong with the traditional structures and procedures within universities, but to try to pinpoint the leveraging parameters that might be used to provide an incentive to faculty members to use their considerable talents and influence to mobilize one of society's greatest tools of change (namely, universities) to attack one of society's most troublesome problems, namely the very low participation rate of minority students in graduate education.

What Are Possible Incentives for Faculty to Act?

Responsibilities and Rewards for Administrators Providing incentives to encourage the faculty to expend efforts to recruit, mentor and advance minority graduate students is a delicate matter for university administrators. Most sledgehammer approaches are either ineffective or illegal, or both. An example of an inappropriate venture would be setting the salary of faculty members based on the number of black students s/he had under mentorship.

But developing a salary assignment process for administrators that depended, among other things, on their effectiveness in implementing university affirmative action policies would seem appropriate. If a Dean and Chair see absolutely no rea-

son to urge their faculty toward action, then the entire system can easily succumb to complacency. Even in the best of circumstances the financial incentive would be small; but more important is the symbol of institutional commitment that is implied. But let us analyze this somewhat distasteful point a little more. We have just suggested that to improve an institution's performance in affirmative action we must pay those administrators who are effective in this area more than we pay those who are not, everything else being equal. This runs against the grain of academe and illustrates one of the problems faced even by well- meaning university administrations.

In academe the predominant view is that people should be compensated on the basis of their accomplishments as scholars and teachers. Even most university administrators are or have been acknowledged leaders in their fields, and to a large extent their compensation as administrators is based on their standing as a scholar. Moreover, in certain university systems, there are very few incentives for a faculty member to become an administrator in the first place, and if they view the administrative role as becoming too burdensome, or feel that they are being pushed in some direction they do not wish to go, they will just quit and return to the less stressful, and often even more financially rewarding, task of being just a tenured faculty member. Thus, the financial incentive variable for administrators is one that is somewhat slippery.

Nevertheless, in spite of the problems above, every university should make it very clear that the development of innovative ways of advancing affirmative action within the university environment must be an integral part of each administrator's job, and that even annual raises will be based to some extent on how well the administrator does in this regard. The administrators must then, in turn, decide, within general university guidelines, how to best implement affirmative action efforts within their units. This flow of responsibility is important. As stated above, faculty have more confidence in their Chair, normally, than in their Dean; Chairs have more allegiance to their Dean than to the Provost, and so on. This natural coupling between the various levels of the administration should be used to advantage in transmitting a clear institutional signal that affirmative action is important.

From an institutional perspective, it is very important that Presidents, Provosts, Deans, Chairs, faculty leaders and others consistently and publicly embrace the principles of affirmative action. But to ensure that indeed more takes place than just verbal discourse, the reward structure within the university has to explicitly acknowledge performance and results in this area. As flawed as it may be, that is one incentive that should not be ignored.

Academic Planning; Coupling Budgets to Performance Every academic unit in a university should be required to develop annually an "Academic Plan." The plan should also include the detailed presentation of the aspirations of the unit and the resources required to achieve its goals. This plan should also include an analysis of what the unit has done in the recruitment of minority students and faculty during the past year, what the successes were, and an analysis of why the efforts were not as successful as anticipated.

The overall academic plan should form an integral part of the budget allocation process for the unit for the next year, and the cognizant administrators should make sure that the unit's performance in the area of affirmative action is taken into account in making the final allocation decisions. In particular, units that have consistently ignored urgings that they mount special affirmative action initiatives either in student recruiting or faculty recruiting should not be allowed to recruit for new faculty positions, except under the very close coordination of the appropriate university committees. In summary, I believe that a strong case can be made for coupling, both psychologically and substantively, the budgets allocated to departments with the performance of those units in affirmative action.

The administration of such a policy is not easy and must be done with great care; it must not be retributive, and should always be fashioned to help departments grow in quality and diversity. But an administration that, in the budget-setting process, is willing to continue to add incremental resources to departments that consistently refuse to participate meaningfully in affirmative action initiatives can be legitimately questioned on whether it indeed is committed to affirmative action.

Support for Faculty Research At most universities there is insufficient support for scholarly activities of the faculty. Institutions normally are only able to insure that each faculty member attends one professional conference each year. The interchange of ideas between scholars is the lifeblood of most professions. To be sure, the reading of published works goes a long way toward achieving a sharing of results on a global basis. But nothing really takes the place of hearing the author of a major work present his or her findings and be subject to critical questions from other experts in the field. Moreover, conferences provide an opportunity (in some cases almost the only opportunity) for junior faculty to interact personally with senior scholars from other universities, often resulting in a relationship that might set the direction of future research for years to come. And the flow of insights may not be just one-way. On many occasions, senior scholars gain the benefit of a special point of view from a junior scholar that they just never had thought of before—and thus even the senior scholar's future work can be enhanced. In summary, conferences are good, and there are too few resources to encourage these types of vital interactions. What on earth does this have to do with minority recruitment and retention?

Faculty who are willing to use some of their time at conferences to consult with colleagues about the recruitment of minority graduate students, or the recruitment of minority faculty, should be provided with supplemental university travel support. This is an incentive which is appropriate and can be effective, if such a program is properly administered. It has the advantage of combining in a single administrative action a

statement of the university's concern about scholarly advancement of its faculty and about providing the opportunity for the advancement of others who have been historically denied access.

More Direct Faculty Rewards Faculty who exert special efforts to recruit and mentor minority graduate students over and beyond the level expected on the average, should be acknowledged by the university. The form that this acknowledgment should take will vary. Some may wish to provide special research support, in recognition of the faculty member's sacrifice in time and energies that might otherwise have devoted to the preparation of proposals for additional external support. Others may wish to consider a reduction in the faculty member's teaching load or formal committee assignments. But something should be done. Universities are normally willing to acknowledge special contributions of its faculty. A faculty member obtaining $2 million research grant, and one who is conducting a special study for university long range planning, for example, both might expect to receive supplemental support and/or teaching load reductions. The enormous efforts required to recruit and retain minority graduate students must be accorded a comparable degree of significance and importance to the university.

Most universities reward their faculty on the basis of their performance in research, teaching and service. Some departmental process is developed wherein each faculty member is rated by his/her peers (or a representative body, or by the chair, etc.), and through some complicated method, salary raises are computed from the results of the ranking process. Inasmuch as the recruiting of minority graduate students can certainly be regarded as a departmental/un[illegible] service, and since mentoring and advisement are [illegible] integral parts of teaching, there is absolutely no violat[illegible]andard principles in rewarding faculty who perform in an [illegible]mplary fashion in these areas.

The Distant Future: A Time of No Artificial Incentives

We must never forget that artificial incentives are not a long term solution to the problem of the paucity of minority graduate students. The goal must always be to create a degree of understanding and commitment within departments that will cause them to aggressively pursue affirmative action efforts without the presence of administratively dangled incentives.

Incentives are justifiable now in that we are facing a dangerous situation in the declining number of minority students pursuing graduate education at precisely the time the numbers should be rapidly growing—both for the benefit of the classes that have been historically denied access, and for the benefit of the nation that will increasingly need their talents. One can hope for the day when most departments have a sufficient number of minority students to realize that these students can be as productive and brilliant as any others, that they should be recruited for the same competitive reasons as any other students, and that faculty should be honored to have these students select them as advisors.

Though the use of incentives is, in general, something that most academic administrators find awkward to deal with, the end justifies the means, provided that certain basic tenets of academe are not violated. As pointed out in the conference material we had previously distributed, as well as the references cited earlier in this paper, it is the faculty who play a pivotal role in the selection of graduate students for admission to their university, it is the faculty who decide on which students get financial support, and it is the faculty who must provide academic guidance of the students throughout their graduate careers.

Thus, no lasting solution of achieving the proper participation of minorities in graduate education is conceivable without the full involvement and commitment of the faculty.

WORK GROUP IV REPORT

Moderated and authored by

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In what ways can the current faculty incentive and reward systems be used or modified to make changes necessary for more African Americans, American Indians, and Latinos to complete advanced degrees?

We began our work with the premises of the conference itself, as reinforced by papers, responses and discussion:

- The low enrollment of African Americans, American Indians and Latinos in graduate programs represents a crisis for those minority groups and for the nation at large.
- Members of the faculty, though they do not bear the whole responsibility, are central to the scholarly enterprise and can make the critical difference in enabling African Americans, American Indians and Latinos to take their necessary place in the academy.
- No long-term change in faculty behavior will occur without adjustments in the academic reward. The adjustments will need to take place in the criteria for awards (what faculty are expected to do) and, when necessary, in the rewards themselves.

- Besides the initiatives and work of faculty members, there must be institutional commitment if the changes are to be widespread; that means public commitment and supportive action from chancellors, presidents and other senior academic administrators for the goals of educational equity and, specifically, for increasing the number of African Americans, American Indians and Latinos in graduate programs and, ultimately, on the faculty itself.

The conference identified three major areas where changed faculty behavior can contribute to increasing the numbers and success rates of African Americans, American Indians and Latinos: outreach and admission, mentoring, and expansion of the canons and boundaries of scholarly disciplines. In each area, there are opportunities to reward behavior that moves a department, a discipline, a university toward the goal of finding and developing intellectual leadership potential where today it is neglected.

Recommendations—Outreach and Admissions

1. Conference participants focussing on this issue have produced a number of suggestions for recruitment action, both on and off campus, to enlarge the pool of qualified African American, American Indian and Latino graduate candidates. Faculty members who devote significant time to such activities should be rewarded with time, that is, the rewards should either be of time itself-specific leave or time off from other academic duties to carry out recruitment/outreach—or of staff support or equipment that saves some equivalent of the time spent.
2. Criteria for tenure and promotion and for salary increments should include effective recruitment and outreach to candidates from underrepresented groups.
3. There should be merit increases and awards designated for successful recruiting/outreach to underrepresented minority groups.
4. Fellowships and grants are also suitable rewards for outstanding work that improves successful outreach and recruitment of African Americans, American Indians and Latinos.

Recommendations - Mentoring

Most of the rewards described above for work on getting talented students from underrepresented groups into graduate study are also appropriate for the essential work of mentoring.

5. Incentives for mentoring should cover the whole range of rewards that faculty care about: credit toward tenure and promotion; credit toward salary increases or bonuses; rewards of time or time equivalents; funds or equivalent resources; awards of high status — "Mentor of the Year," with some privileges attached to the honor; recognition at the departmental level and also from administration leaders.

Recommendations—Expanding the Limits of the Disciplines

6. All the previously mentioned incentives and rewards might be shaped to fit the special task of faculty who work to open up their own disciplines to new perspectives, new methods, new concepts and data coming from scholars, or scholars in training, who are also members of underrepresented groups in the academy.

Recommendations—General

7. Professional development leave time would be appropriate either as a reward for heavy involvement in activities to increase the numbers of students from the targeted groups in the university or as a time assigned to developing special approaches or programs or team efforts to the same end.
8. Post-doctoral fellowships could make a major difference in the lives of many young faculty who are African American, American Indian or Latino.
9. Faculty exchange opportunities or visiting professorships are ways to reward faculty within an institution or to draw to the institution faculty with special skills and commitment to the kinds of action urged by the conference for all faculty.
10. Research funds could be the reward for faculty showing the kind of behavior recommended by the conference. Research funds could also be assigned to faculty who are trying to gather information on the best approaches to take to increase the numbers of African Americans, American Indians and Latinos completing studies.

A Note on Diversity

Underlying the sense of urgency to increase the presence of people of color in the academy is a commitment to educational excellence, to educational equity and full development of the cultural diversity which actually characterizes our nation.

Cultural diversity is certainly present in the universities which are the main objects of our attention in this conference. Let us start, then, by respecting that diversity and the special qualities of faculty members who will commit themselves to making the most of changing times. Not all faculty members will be good mentors, however willing they may be in spirit. Not all faculty members will be adept in absorbing new perspectives within their disciplines. And not all can successfully reach out to find talent in unexpected places. In the same way, not all faculty will be moved to action by the same available rewards.

An important way to bring about and to demonstrate institutional commitment to the goals of the plurally excellent university will therefore be to encourage variety in rewards, variety in the contributions different faculty members make toward the same general goals, and continued innovation in outreach/admissions, in mentoring, and in the expansion of disciplines as they respond to new scholars and new scholarship.

A PARTICIPANT'S OBSERVATIONS

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Good conferences, once underway, have a life of their own. Participants, caught up in the moment, frequently believe that they can accomplish almost anything. The truly exceptional conferences, moreover, are those that live beyond their moment, that engage conferees so thoroughly in the issues raised that they carry the meeting's message into their workplace and in so doing, transform themselves—and those around them.

In the final minutes of this conference participants made it abundantly clear that they wanted to maintain the conference's momentum. To sustain the effort, two initiatives were identified: first, participants were encouraged to work at the "local level"— i.e. within their own departments and institutions—to implement recommendations that emerged from the conference's working meetings and, second, to work at the national level, as one conferee put it, "to create a nationwide coalition" that would keep the conference's central issues as part of the national educational agenda.

At the Local Level

One speaker suggested that conferees return to their institutions, "convene small faculty groups and say, `look, here are a couple of sets of ideas that have been put on the table. What's your reaction? How would you contribute to help us pull this off?' " He added that a "strong strategy" would have to be put in place in order to sustain the involvement of local faculty.

The foundation for such a strong strategy, he suggested, might be a careful presentation to faculty members and to the members of institutional academic senates about the nature of the nation's changing demographics. The trends are abundantly clear: the decline in the birth rates of white middle class males—the group from which the professorate at the vast majority of the nation's colleges and universities was drawn—will produce a critical shortage of faculty unless there is sharp improvement in the rates at which black and brown students are recruited into college, graduate study, and careers in academia. Few decision makers in American higher education truly understand these trends; if they did, one participant asserted, conferences like this one would be unnecessary. If presentations highlighting the appropriate facts and figures could be made before the "right" people in key institutions, then the way will be open and the conference might provide guidance for appropriate steps. Further, recommendations and materials from the conference would have a ready-made, well-primed audience.

Who Can Do It? But a critical question was posed at this point: Who is to do the work? Most of those in attendance at the conference are the torch bearers, the hard workers whose desks were already cluttered with more tasks, responsibilities, and duties than it is humanly possible for two people—much less one individual—to complete. Taking on new tasks, no matter how pressing or how noble, would only add to the burden. Unfortunately, a major share of this burden is all too frequently heaped on the shoulders of junior minority faculty, whose responsibilities include being the "point person" on issues affecting the black and brown communities on campus. The result is that these budding scholars fail to produce and complete the scholarship necessary for advancement up the tenure ladder. "I think if we really want to get a larger piece of the academic pie, then we have to put forth our best talent, develop it and, again, protect it, so that our assistant professors do not go through what some of us went through...."

At the National Level

Other suggestions were offered. It was pointed out that with a host of local initiatives being organized—conferees from SUNY, the University of California, and from Georgia, for example, had all indicated that they had planned to put conference issues before local faculty and institutional governing boards—some means of linking all of these efforts into a national network would be necessary. One suggestion was that computer conferencing systems be established so that communication between the disparate groups and individuals comprising the conference's membership might be maintained.

This fact gradually emerged: A national strategy for promoting institutional reform would have to consist of a host of local initiatives, organized at the campus level and sustained by periodic publications and other communications issuing from the conference planning committee.

And Institute Perhaps the most intriguing suggestion tendered by conference participants about the future direction of the group was the notion that an institute be formed to press for institutional change and further research and development on the issues that the conference had sought to raise. An institute would serve to organize the energies of the disparate groups of faculty and administrators working around the nation to bring the conference's recommendations to fruition. Such an institute would, for example, seek funding to support its activities and might provide some of this funding in order to support the efforts of faculty and administrators doing promising work to improve the status of minority scholars around the nation. The institute would also collect relevant research and where appropriate, secure the services of scholars who would conduct research related to the status of minority scholars in American higher education. Since no similar institute is currently in existence, there is a strong likelihood that an entity growing out of the conference and representing the impressive group of individuals that the conference had brought together might prove to be extremely attractive to foundations interested in developing long-range solutions to the numerous problems confronting minority scholars within the academy.

Careers of Minority Scholars

One clear problem that had been touched upon by the con ference, but had not been addressed in any serious depth, was what happens to minority scholars once they are in the academy. As Myrna Adams had observed, the conference had directed its attention to issues related to the production of such scholars—what are the factors that influence their movement from kindergarten through graduate school? A related question, however, is what happens to those who emerge at the end of the educational pipeline and who enter faculty careers? What occurs as these faculty members march up the tenure ladder also needs serious examination. To what degree are they successful in receiving support for their research (from intra- as well as extramural sources)? What is their track record with respect to publishing in the "appropriate journals?" To what degree are they succeeding in fulfilling the myriad requirements for academic advancement? Some of these issues—most notably those related to minority research and publication—had already been addressed in conference by the working group focusing on Issue III (The Canons of Scholarship and the Minority Scholar) and to a limited degree by the Congress of Black Faculty as its meeting at Howard University earlier in 1987. However, that particular meeting was largely focused on the issues confronting African Americans, and it, too, was not able to explore these issues except in a preliminary fashion. There was a clear perception that had been expressed by many participants that the conference had made an excellent beginning, but that a great deal of work (and a host of unanswered questions) lay ahead.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Among the issues that had achieved some consensus among participants in this discussion (although no formal motions were offered and no vote was taken) were the following:

1) There are both local and national issues to which conference members must attend:
   a) some attempt to begin to mobilize faculty at each institution must be undertaken for which the materials, recommendations, and publications created during the conference would provide an excellent foundation for these local initiatives, and
   b) some attempt to organize all of these efforts into a national movement—perhaps through the creation of an institute—should also be undertaken so that some coordination and focus for all of this activity might be possible.
2) While there was a good deal of sympathy for the plight of Asian Americans and a clear recognition that they share many of the concerns that the conference was convened to articulate, there was also a perception that the problems of general underrepresentation and declining numbers (or very slow growth) are unique to Latinos, African Americans, and American Indians in a host of fields. Since one clear initiative emerging from the conference is the need to address the issue of underrepresentation, some thought must be given to involving others in this work. However, since coalition building is at the heart of much political progress, working with concerned Asian-American faculty was deemed to be one of the options that conference participants might want (and need) to explore.
3) Having extensively documented the paucity of minority faculty in the nation's colleges and universities, conferees should avoid heaping the responsibility for transforming their institutions on the shoulders of those same junior minority faculty whom conferees have worked so diligently to train, recruit, and hire.

Issues of momentum dominated the thinking of most participants, and issues of momentum will continue to influence future efforts to bring the conference's recommendations to fruition. A number of national conferences were convened during the 80's that addressed issues related to minority and disadvantaged students in higher education. These conferences (e.g., the 1982 Wingspread conference that was sponsored with support from the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education) have generated a significant amount of enthusiasm and have been well attended. They have not, however, had a dramatic impact on the status of minorities in higher education, even though a number of excellent publications and a significant amount of recognition in the higher education press emerged from these gatherings.

Clearly a major impediment to moving beyond a conference framework and into the much more difficult arena of building a national movement is that the "troops" are so widely dispersed. As a number of speakers indicated

throughout the course of the conference, the people whom one would most want to enlist in this movement are precisely the ones who have the least amount of free time to devote to such an enterprise. As a result, there is likely to be a great deal of unevenness and a significant lack of consistency in the work that gets done. That conference participants are scattered throughout the nation also contributes to limiting the growth and development of a truly national movement—it is difficult for groups and concerned individuals to communicate easily and effectively with each other.

Perhaps the most significant problem, however, is that of burnout. "Faculty burnout" has been a popular topic for discussion during the 80's but nowhere is this burnout—the result of working much too long and much too hard on issues that defy resolution—more apparent than among many conference participants. Although most conferees left the meeting feeling that there was a do-able task before them, there was also a clear perception that they were carrying a message back to a well entrenched and recalcitrant audience.

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Highlights from the Plenaries

Elizabeth L. Wadsworth
Editor and Consultant

INTRODUCTION TO THE PLENARIES

"You are all experts" is the way Conference Director Myrna Adams put it, speaking to the whole conference group during the first day's plenary session. She was reminding participants that, although some of them were called on for formal presentations, the success of the conference and, even more, the possibility of reaching long-term conference goals would depend on pooling knowledge and experience and energies from all those present.

Adams was calling on participants to make use of the special chance that the plenary meetings offered for exchange among the whole participant group. Later work sessions would let smaller groups think together about their chosen issues. And whenever the conference was not in session, there would be the chance for informal exchanges. But only in plenaries could people find the chance to hear, and be heard by, all their conference colleagues.

The Record This chapter is a record of what participants had to say in the plenaries. There were two sets of plenaries, one on the first day, to hear and consider prepared papers and responses, and the other on the third day, to hear results of the four work groups and to reflect on these and on the conference and, to a limited extent, on "what next?"

The record began with transcripts from tapes of the meetings. Selection and editing from the transcripts was designed to shift oral material into readable written form.

Topics Typically, comments or questions in each meeting stayed close to the presentation topic—whether from a paper or a work-group report. But sometimes participants picked up topics again in a later session, or brought up special issues not previously covered during the conference. As a result, the rich material in these comments did not lend itself to strict chronology, although most is grouped according to the four conference issues. Topical headlines in the text are a guide to where participants' concerns took them.

ACCESS TO GRADUATE EDUCATION: RECRUITMENT, ADMISSION

Formal presentations on this issue recognized the force of institutional practice and faculty attitudes in making access to graduate school difficult for non-traditional students. In plenary sessions, some speakers illustrated recruitment barriers, while others suggested additional ways to open access. A response paper underscored the limits of test scores and the need to understand and incorporate knowledge of test construction and test validity into the use of test results.

Recruiting Terminal Masters for PhDs

Tom Reefe: We're all looking for new places to tap into for PhD candidates. What about looking in terminal master's programs? For instance, the Cal State system has mammoth master's programs; a talented MSW from the Cal State system would be an excellent candidate for a PhD at Stanford or at Berkeley in sociology or psychology. It can be argued that graduate school fundamentally is not education but a socialization process. In that case, terminal master's holders have an added advantage: They're already "presocialized" into the graduate school culture. Maybe we should create faculty liaison between terminal master's programs and PhD programs so as to find talented minority students to attract into the PhD programs.

Edgar Epps: That's a good approach. It's how I got into a PhD program myself. I was in a terminal master's program; Washington State University was recruiting people and I was encouraged to go into the PhD program, although up to that point I hadn't thought of it.

Unknown Speaker: I think your point is well taken. Graduate school is more socialization than education; and that's the problem.

The Medical Model

Elof Carlson: I think graduate school should look to medical school admissions for a model. Medical schools are far ahead of graduate schools in minority admission programs. I've served five years on Stony Brook's Medical Admissions Committee (I chaired it one year). Medical schools, like graduate schools, have standardized examinations—the Medical College Admission Test. But as early as the 1960's—before the civil rights movement made any headway and when minorities were not even thought about in medical admissions—I was a premed advisor at UCLA at the time, and I remember studies showing that the Medical College Admission Test had no relation to peer judgment by physicians of what constitutes an effective or successful physician. Physicians have recognized this in their own careers and among their medical students; what really counts on evaluating where medical students are placed for residency is the quality of their work, the relation to patients, their ability to make judgments and the like, not their performance standardized scores. Medical schools have wrestled with this problem for a number of years, and they have succeeded much more admirably than graduate schools in looking for the criteria that they want in physicians. This includes reliance on pre-medical advisors whose track record is very good in evaluating students at their own institutions.

We don't have anything comparable to that in graduate programs for admission. We have a much more free-based system in which, at best, an individual potential undergraduate sponsor who may have supervised the student in a research project will be given considerable weight. But there are many students who do not have the advantage of doing undergraduate research or working with undergraduate mentors who can write substantial letters about the potential that that student has. So for students who are applying to graduate school, the mechanical GRE-type records are used.

What I would like to address to the panel is: Do you ever consult with your colleagues who are admitting minority candidates, working out systems for retaining them, worked out systems for evaluation of how effective their programs. And if not, why don't you do it?

Copeland: A major problem in comparing medical school admissions to graduate school admission is that medical schools have programs that are more similar to one another than the generality of graduate programs, and the reference group for evaluation—practicing physicians, is more easily measured for applicable criteria for student selection. The numbers of minority people in medical school and in practice also allow a broader range of comparison for minority candidates than can be the case in many graduate departments, where a minority person may appear only once in a decade—if that often.

Stereotypes in Recruiting

Unknown Speaker: In the early years of recruiting minority students, a faculty colleague of mine at a west coast elite institution used to go to public institutions, where minority students were largely concentrated, and draw upon those students for graduate programs. After a certain number of years, the pool of minority students had become a little more institutionally distributed, and some were found in more prestigious institutions. So, after a number of years, rather than going back to that public institution with the high minority concentration, my colleague went recruiting for the elite institution to other elite institutions.

"Why not?," would be the conventional response. Surely the students from elite institutions would out-perform students from the public institutions. But, in fact, research shows that students who were accepted from less prestigious colleges and universities did just as well on measures of performance, progress, grade level or GPA's as students from elite institutions. It is not better to have a minority student from Yale, in other words, than one from the New Mexico Highlands. Yet enrollment decisions are still based on institutional biases, stereotypes. Sadly, too, institutions going to more sources for recruiting students didn't expand admissions; the numbers admitted were the same, only the sources were different.

Unknown Speaker: As I talk to students and as I talk with administrators, I get the notion that when a faculty member sees a minority student, even if that student has a 3.50, there is this notion in the back of his/her mind of inferiority. "Is this GPA real?" So all kinds of qualifiers come up, and finally they will say, "Well if the student has his own money."

A Case in Point - Outside Help to Enlarge the Pool

Ike Tribble: I run the Florida Endowment Fund for Higher Education, the only one of its kind in the entire country, the first of its kind; I'm hoping there will be more in future.

My study of educational change tells me that rarely do you get this impetus from within. When it occurs, it comes from without the institution. Clark Kerr said about the academy that the faculty are good at analyzing everybody else's problems, but when it comes to their own, they're poor.

The Florida Endowment Fund currently has $17,000,000 in the bank, which funds in perpetuity a black doctoral fellowship program; it awards 25 each year and will in perpetuity (unless the international economy collapses). We also award 20 junior faculty fellowships each year. Each black doctoral fellowship contains a $60,000 commitment, with four years of support. Each junior faculty fellowship contains a $15,000 commitment so that a junior faculty member can take a year off to get a research program in order and begin to think about becoming a tenured professor.

Since 1984 we have awarded 92 fellowships in the black doctoral program. Seventy-eight of those are still matriculating; we have an 85% retention rate. Seventy percent of those are doing 3.0 or better work; 40 percent are doing 3.5 or better work. Their GRE scores range from about 680 to 1400,

with an average of less than 1000 over a four-year period. We're probably approaching being the most productive program nationally for producing black PhDs in the critical disciplines. Our first PhD comes off the assembly line in December (1987), and they will start to roll off on a regular basis.

Fifty-five percent of our fellows are in the hard sciences, meaning pharmaceutical science, engineering, computer science, mathematics, chemistry and the like. *Black Issues in Higher Education* recently reported on two of our fellows who are in electrical engineering; both had 950 GRE scores, and both are doing 3.5 work; and you can't rap your way through engineering calculus.

My point is that maybe—and I think I heard Professor Epps very clearly—maybe change within the system is going to be very difficult. We're going to need some stimulus outside of that system to make certain things occur. If you write a check for $400,000 to the president of the University of Florida, he generally returns phone calls.

My other sense is that faculty are lazy. One of the things that our program does is to gather all of the information on the students, put together complete packets, send them to the faculty so all they have to do is take the material out of their inbox, read it and say Yea or Nay. The result is that they do make a decision. Once they make the decision, we find, not only do they accept candidates that they normally would not have gone out and procured, but they are also accepting into their departments those who do not get the McKnight fellowship and giving them institutional support. In other words, by going through the process, reading the file and making a decision, they have made a commitment.

Finally, let me briefly describe another element in our program—what we call a Graduate Opportunities Conference. I stole it from Virginia; I've implemented it in Florida state wide; and I've exported it to Pennsylvania. It takes place each year. Every single undergraduate school brings what it considers its promising minority students to a central location. We pay all expenses in the best hotel, and we bring in programs from all over the state.

What happens is that you get 300-400 students in one place, all with their motors running. Graduate programs tend to see more students at that one event than they otherwise do in four to five years of recruiting.

New Dollars, Same Recruiting Pool

Reginald Wilson: I have an example of the problem of challenging fundamental values that people hold on to tenaciously.

When the National Science Foundation and the National Research Council talk about recruiting minority students, they are talking about one kind of student. When you're talking about some successful graduate programs, you're talking about other kinds of students. Those conversations don't mesh with each other. The Ford Foundation, when it set up its Minority Doctoral Fellowship Program, went to the National Research Council, and they said, fine we'll run it for you. They began to look at the same kinds of students that they looked at all the time, with the same kinds of numbers, coming from the same kinds of schools. So they're essentially recruiting the same small pool of students that meet all those criteria. Everybody is standing around bidding on that same pool. And yet we ask why we aren't increasing the pool!

The students that Ike Tribble is talking about [in The Florida Endowment for Higher Education] are different students. He said that very carefully when he described those students. Those students have GRE's ranging from 680 to about 1100+. The average is below 1000. Most of them would not even be considered by most graduate schools and most screening panels from the National Research Council.

Ike didn't mention that he spends his time traveling around the country asking kids if they've thought about going into a doctoral program. And the answer is no, it never occurred to them. Those are the students in his program, and they're knocking the top off the box in physical sciences and computer science. The number of students he has in computer science is greater then all of the numbers in the country. But he's dealing with a different population.

With all respect, N.S.F. and N.R.C. are not interested in those students. It doesn't matter how successful they are, because they rely on indices of competence that they really don't want to have challenged, that they regard as immutable standards of excellence. They're not willing to redefine them. Even in the Ford Foundation Minority Doctoral Program, it's the same students. You have just created another pool of money for them, that's all. So instead of taking a Danforth the student takes a Ford. When you talk about widening the pool, that is what Ike Tribble is doing, not what the N.S.F. and N.R.C. and Ford are doing.

Remedies

Marketing Graduate Arts and Sciences

Michael Lipsky: I teach political science at M.I.T. I want to stress the importance of marketing the graduate programs to capable minority students who may be considering post-baccalaureate education, but only in professional schools. Undergraduates may really have very poor perceptions of what a career in the arts and sciences might look like as compared to opportunities to make very quick money or to gain what they believe to be community status through some other kind of post-baccalaureate education.

Presently, faculties may want to clone themselves, but the potential clones don't want to be cloned to the life of the arts and sciences faculty as they know it. We have to pay much more attention to articulating what the values are of a scholarly life. This certainly bears on admission and outreach.

Getting the Word out to Potential Students

Martha Connelly: My name is Martha Connelly, and I work with the Graduate Engineering for Minorities Program located at the University of Notre Dame. We have a fellowship program where we recruit minority students, Black

Americans, Puerto Rican Americans, American Indians, to go to graduate school in engineering.

When we talk here about increasing the numbers and faculty incentives, it sounds like we assume that students want to go to graduate school, that students know why they should go to graduate school, and students know what graduate school is like, and students know that they can get money.

We have held seminars across the country. Last year we held ten. We got funding from the National Science Foundation. This year we did not, but we continue to hold those seminars anyway. We have found, in those seminars, that students don't know why they should go to graduate school. They don't know how to apply to go to graduate school. They don't know where the funding is to go to graduate school. And, most importantly, nobody has told them that they should go to graduate school. These are students who have 3.4, 3.5 to 3.9 grade point averages. The average G.P.A. of our students is 3.3.

We have 525 graduates, and we have 14 who have Ph.D.'s, and 39 who are in Ph.D. programs right now. Whenever I talk with a dean, they want to see the list of those 39 and those 14. I tell them, "You make Ph.D. students. G.M. makes cars, but you make Ph.D. students. You have these students from freshman year through graduation and potentially on through the Ph.D. program, but nobody is mentoring that student, very early, to say that s/he ought to go to graduate school."

When we have our seminars, we find that the students are very eager. We still have a very difficult time, however, attracting students to come to the seminars. When the careers fairs are held and the companies come on the campus to recruit, students are there. The concept of going to graduate school will eventually get over to students, but right now it hasn't.

We need to look at whether the student really knows what's involved in going to graduate school. Many of them have no clear idea of what goes on at the university or what it's like to be a professor. We have found that when we've gotten the message to students, and when students know that funds are available, there are students interested in going on to graduate school.

Part Time Financial Aid

Unknown woman: We should be concerned with how we package financial support, depending on how many of our students are enrolled part time. Many of these students are working part time and pursuing their degree part time and have special financial needs.

Graduate Students from the Same Institution

Myrna Adams: Several of us have discussed the "grow your own" concept of recruiting and mentoring students. There are policy and philosophical questions about the benefits of focusing on the very good pool of undergraduate students in our own institutions as potential candidates for graduate admission. Our discussion suggested that when students go through four years, or two years in the case of a transfer student, and become familiar with an institution, its norms and values and idiosyncrasies, it may be to the advantage, particularly of minority students, to remain at that institution, at least through the masters degree. It might be a good strategy to advance despite the conventional view that it's time for them to make a change and be exposed to other instititutions.

Yolanda Nix: At SUNY at Albany we do see a natural link between mentoring at the undergraduate level that proceeds into graduate level. At my campus, there is a direct focus on identifying potential graduate students. We place that responsibility on "liaisons" throughout the university. We have not yet given our liaisons the title "mentors," although they're as close as we've come yet to having a designee, per department, to work with minority students. We use the same liaison for undergraduate mentoring advisement and nurturing as we do for graduate level minority students. One of the key functions of the mentor, together with others of us who encourage minority undergraduates to become graduate students, is to identify talent and to point out to them the advantages of earning advanced degrees. To deal with inbreeding, at Albany, we recruit outside, but we certainly do look at our own undergraduates with the intent of promoting them straight into graduate programs, hopefully on through Ph.D. programs.

Myrna Adams: If we were to adopt the strategy of seeing that minority undergraduates remain on the campuses, then the recruitment fairs that we attend off campus would be held on our campuses, and the departments would come to meet our own black, Hispanic and American Indian students to persuade them to attend graduate school at home, at least up to the master's level. If we've been able to retain them through the senior year, then we may have a better chance of retaining them through the beginning stages of graduate study.

When we analyzed the Ph.D.'s produced by Stony Brook since its inception, we found a much higher number of Ph.D.'s awarded to Stony Brook undergraduates than we ever expected. This suggests that we'd better look at which students are encouraged by predominantly white faculty to continue in these institutions through the Ph.D. What is the process by which some students are encouraged to stay and proceed through the graduate degree at their undergraduate institutions? How often does that occur for minority students, and on what basis?

MENTORING

Define it however you will, the mentor's role always rests on a simple premise, which is that the scholarly enterprise depends on relationships between individuals, individual faculty members and individual students.

James Blackwell, in his paper, presented a comprehensive review of mentoring, and all three respondents added to his list of problems and possibilities for the role. However, since mentoring allows so many and such diverse student-faculty interactions, it is not surprising that other participants added to the mentor definitions, the suggested activities, and the caveats about mentoring already presented to the conference.

Some of the provocative questions about mentoring raised in the plenary sessions were:

- *Can you really describe the mentoring process?*
- *Shouldn't students learn to be their own mentors?*
- *Is failure a necessary right for graduate students?*
- *Do mentor/protegé characteristics need to match?*
- *Does socialization to scholarship have to mean loss of primary culture and community?*
- *What about cross-cultural mentoring?*
- *Is mentoring really a power compact?*
- *Is mentoring reciprocal?*

Quality in Mentoring

Theory vs Practice

Bob Smith: It seems to me that the way mentoring was described by the panelists made it much more objective and logical then it probably is in practice. In my case, three persons served as mentors (and currently serve as mentors, because the process goes on). I don't know how this choice happened; they liked me, perhaps, or we worked in areas of common interest. The process didn't seem to have the kind of formal pattern that we get in the efforts to describe and analyze it.

Quality Control

Myrna Adams: We need to raise the question of who reviews the quality of mentoring relationships. I hear a lot of people talk about the quantity of students served, but I hear very little discussion of how to assure quality. And while I do agree that it is possible to have people of different gender and ethnic groups mentor students, I would like to see the control or the oversight of the quality of that relationship in the hands of people of the same gender or ethnic group, simply to ensure that the counseling takes place in an appropriate and developmental way. It does not seem to me likely that large numbers of faculty will necessarily subscribe to Wes Harris's point of assuring that the Ph.D. candidate outperforms the mentor in all the professionally relevant ways. I see that as a laudable goal, but I know that there is a competitive streak in all of us, and I don't know how often we really do push our students to outshine us. And that's particularly true in a minority/majority relationship where "superior/inferior" is, for many people, built into the relationship.

Mutual Trust

James Blackwell: A good mentor, who is interested in the welfare of his/her student, is going to talk to that student in great candor and point out "areas where you are performing well and areas where you need more strength and areas where what you are doing is absolutely wrong and isn't going to get you anywhere." This is the way to get the result. It involves human interaction, give and take, trust and confidence. And it does not work unless the mentor manifests respect for what the individual says, for what that person believes, for what that person is saying as an individual. If there is an element of distrust, the mentor cannot elicit responses from which that student can benefit.

Bruce Hare: I will comment on quality in the mentor relationship by giving an illustration. My graduate work was done in Chicago, and my mentor at that time was Edgar Epps. One of the most critical moments in my being mentored was when I went to Professor Epps's office as a graduate student in the throes of depression. I went to my mentor's office. I sat down in the chair, I dropped my head and I said to him, "I'm depressed." He looked at me and he said, "Good." And I looked at him and I said, "I'm not sure you heard me; I just said I'm depressed." He said, "Yes, I hear you. Good." I said, "How can you say, `Good' when I say I'm depressed?" He said, "As an honest mentor must, son. I know what graduate study does to people in places like this. I know what the weight is like. If you were to wander into my office and tell me how wonderful you felt, I'd begin to worry about you."

Empowering Students: An Alternative Strategy

Tom Reefe: I want to raise another issue that is a bit different from Myrna's but builds on it. We vastly overrate our abilities as professors to be mentors. As a graduate advisor, and as a placement advisor and a counselor, I have seen mentors abuse graduate students. I want to suggest some reasons for this. One of them is the old saw, "A faculty is a group of mutually repellent particles held together by a common interest in parking." Everyone knows how bad faculty politics are, and that's what we're doing to our peers. Imagine what we are doing to someone who is a powerless graduate student.

I really like Dr. Blackwell's paper because it listed all the things that faculty ought to be doing. But as a human being, I say nobody should have the kind of power to do that to

another human being. Especially because you're dealing with adults, not children. The average Ph.D. is 32 years old and has been in graduate school for seven years. How dare you do that to young adults!

I would suggest that there is another strategy, a strategy to empower graduate students to take care of themselves. One of the things I teach in my workshops is how to manage a mentor. (Not how to choose one.)

A second thing I teach is that students, when they come out of the Ph.D. mills, are infants. They have been infantilized by graduate school.

I want to suggest a human development model for you. Graduate students go through the same developmental processes that children do, because they are treated like children. That means that by the time you get ready to write your dissertation, you should be a teenager ready to reject your parent, and the irony is you are most dependent on that individual then. That's why you go crazy.

High Dropout Rate

The proof of this (and this is something on which I challenge all of you to give me some statistics, I challenge you to think in the back of your mind) is that regardless of race, graduate school destroys students, and they drop out at incredibly high rates that nobody wants to keep records on.

I want to give you a couple of examples that I know personally. When I was a graduate professor, we admitted 40 graduate students in my graduate program to guarantee us 8 Ph.D's eight years later. That's a 75-80% dropout rate.

There is an article, *The ABC's of ABD's* *, that you handed out in this packet. One of the things that I saw very quickly isthat they interviewed some ABD's and found out that 44% of these people dropped out of graduate school because of bad relations with faculty. The other 44% reason was bad financial aid. So we'd better be very careful about the arrogance with which we deal with these young and not-so-young adults. When you start talking about women in their thirties coming back to graduate school, it's even more frightening. Because we're not good enough to be mentors, and we'd better teach our students how to be adults.

Combatting Isolation

John McClusky: I'm with the C.I.C. minority fellowship program as well as with Indiana University. I have very little argument with the abstract notion of mentoring when done quite well and sensitively. However, my comments stem from a premise, that the overwhelming majority of minority students will not have mentors. The next question is, how should we as faculty proceed to develop support programs for all of those who don't have mentors?

The C.I.C. program has been quite effective in supporting graduate students. It is the oldest and largest continuously privately funded minority fellowships program in the country. We have thirty-two who've rolled off the assembly line. The point is, how did it work? In the majority of cases it worked not so much with individual mentors, though most of our fellows have indicated that individuals are quite important, but more important was the graduate student network that we established across eight states and twelve universities. One of the things that we should address as faculty members is how to be effective in mobilizing the graduate students where they are on our campuses. I'm now talking about campuses where they are not in large numbers. I think minority faculty, no matter how few there are, should be a lot more active in bringing students together, especially across disciplinary lines. We have found, with our network involving some three hundred fellows, that the annual conference, which had its tenth year this year at the University of Chicago, has been very important in getting them to talk to one another. It's that conversation that begins among the graduate students, that then spills over onto the undergraduates, that has made this kind of issue and this kind of experience quite interesting.

The point is that, whether we are talking about mentoring or other measures, we're talking about isolation and how to reduce isolation. I think, unless we organize the faculty members around that issue and how to address it, that we are going to leave a large number of people outside the pale.

I want to end by saying that, if we're bringing mentors together to deal with isolation, if you're talking about faculty, we must realize that excellence in our context, or in most contexts, is political. So at the same time we address undergraduates, as we urge our graduate students to maintain excellence, we also must maintain excellence ourselves. That ultimately is political because it affects the way in which power structures at the universities will make decisions and deal with our demands.

About Belonging and the Right to Fail

Myrna Adams: Consider the following statement written by a black female graduate student at Stony Brook:

"Though I am unable to document the following, I feel that it is also an important consideration in my situation. Whereas my fellow graduate students are able to proclaim something is green, I am unable to say "green" without being asked, `Why, what do you know about color?' In other words, perfection has always been demanded of me, whereas the other students have been allowed to be students. They have been able to make mistakes and to learn. I, on the other hand, must constantly prove that I deserve even to be here.

"Further, during my first year of graduate school, I had it dinned into me that my experience as a human being, which, yes, is distinct from other students and professors in this department, is an invalid one; that my voice is an invalid one and that my attempt to investigate the interface between my experience and Western European experience is an invalid one.

"Moreover, I clearly sense an attitude, held by many in the department, that I was incapable of acquiring the language and skills proper to this department's orientation. That I simply had no business studying the discipline in the first place and that I was not worth the time and the effort needed to place me 'on par' with the white students that have had, and continue to have, distinct educational and social advantages

which the department surely knew at the beginning I have not; I did not have then and I do not have at the present."

That's a damning statement.

James Blackwell: So many graduate students go through graduate programs with the feeling that they constantly have to prove that they belong in the institution. And that feeling is sent to them in so many different ways some subtle and some very, very blatant. Many undergraduate students go through that as well.

I was thinking about a report that came out of M.I.T. about an "A" student, who happens to be black. She was queried by one of her white professors, "Why don't you go where you belong?" A meaningless and a hostile question. Clearly, she belonged at that institution by all rational criteria. But "belonging" can become very difficult when race and racism enter.

Bob Daly: I'm appalled that the student whose letter Myrna read was called upon to justify her existence or presence. That's just not what you do. We have a right to opinions simply by virtue of being alive and being on the earth. It seems to me that a good mentor always admits limitations, always admits a capacity for error in himself or herself and, thereby, lets the student know that it's all right to make mistakes and, in fact, if you haven't made any mistakes lately, you're probably not working on anything important or original. We all do that all the time, and I think that you show by example. We're all blundering along at the very outskirts of knowledge. Nobody's sitting with the answers, and I hope that somebody will tell that poor student simply to find new mentors.

James Blackwell: I see mentoring as a whole person process that involves give and take, interaction, the effort to let a person demonstrate what he or she can do. But along with the sense of capabilities should come the sense that "I am also a person; I am valuable just as a person. I have the right to succeed. I have the right to fail, and if I do fail, it is not a discredit to you, it is not a discredit to the learning process. Something else has happened in that process that allowed me to fail." What Myrna was emphasizing is the fact that all too frequently, minority students don't have that right to fail. They don't have that right to do something which is different and outside of the mold. As we have the right to succeed, to perform as best we possibly can, we also have the right to make mistakes.

Commonality/Difference and Teaching/Learning

Bruce Hare: I'd like to comment on the effects of similar and different characteristics on the mentor/proteg relationship. When I was doing my graduate work at the University of Chicago, I was looking at elementary education. One of the things that the literature implied was that commonality breeds consensus, and differentness potentially breeds contempt.

I think it is clear and easy to admit that noise can occur between people with different characteristics, but thank heavens it does not follow that because there are differences in characteristics there is an inability to arrive at a consensus. In the 1980's many of us are recognizing that just because someone looks like you doesn't mean that they're your friend, and, converse'ly, just because they don't look like you doesn't mean that they're your enemy.

But it is interesting that, if one notes the early research on elementary performance, one finds in that older literature that girls did better in the elementary schools than boys and that later on in the secondary schools, and particularly when you got to college, boys began to do better then the girls. I could never quite separate that from the fact that women dominated the elementary classrooms and that men began to dominate later on.

Obviously it is possible to transcend characteristic differences in a mentoring relationship, while it is also admittable that common characteristics can reduce noise. Assuming that this problem exists at some level, the problem of noise because of the absence of commonality, one of the long-term potential approaches to the problem resides in the undergraduate training of people, including the undergraduate training of people who would be future mentors. One can reduce this distance, rather than attempting to eliminate the problem by matching people by characteristics, by effecting a complete education; that is, education with a pluralistic exposure and a greater appreciation for the ability to interact across lines.

The Cloning Error

Unknown speaker: I'm really concerned with the cloning process that's going on right now. We do not teach graduate students how to be effective teachers, we do not teach them how to be effective mentors and I think its a sad situation if those who are currently in the academy are cloning themselves. We need to look at how we effectively impact on those students who are already in the pipeline to help them to become more effective as teachers, as mentors, as researchers. In that order.

Assimilation in Mentoring

Myrna Adams: I'm concerned about assimilation in the mentoring relationship. I'm interested in preserving the cultural heritage of African-Americans, Native Americans and Latinos. In the mentoring process, some of the distinct characteristics and cultural values can be assimilated, in fact destroyed. We should keep that in mind.

James Blackwell: I'm not sure what is really meant here, Myrna, by "assimilation" in graduate education, in the process of learning, in the process of becoming a rigorous scholar. I don't see that being black or being Hispanic, or being Indian and learning scientific methodology destroys my culture at all. I believe that it is imperative for me to be able to think critically, to behave responsibly, to make sound judgments and, of course, to make the right kinds of decisions about the learning process that will facilitate that learning process, not only for Blacks and Latinos and for Asians, but for all stu-

dents. I don't believe that I am a mentor to any one particular group of students. I believe that white students have that right and that responsibility to select me as a mentor, you as a mentor, just as black and Latino students have that responsibility. I don't believe that I am a role model only to black students. If I'm a role model only to black students, then I have failed as a college professor, from my point of view.

Myrna Adams: I really understand that. I was raising the issue largely because I hear that some groups avoid sending their students to predominantly white institutions because of the fear that they will absorb values antithetical to the community values from which these students come. I raise the question not just from an African American perspective but rather for all ethnic minority students who receive their education in this country. Socialization into the majority culture can be tantamount to the loss of our primary cultural definitions. Sometimes we accept the loss in order to get through and to get into positions of power. In the process, we often get detached from our roots, and that ought not to happen to an educated person.

Bruce Hare: Let me suggest that there are at least two perspectives for seeing the question, the problem of assimilation. One is in the definition that the university gives to itself. To the extent that the university has looked at itself as a homogeneous, white institution and that that orientation permeates the university and the faculty, even the faculty members who are sympathetic to Hispanic and African Americans, American Indians or others, to the extent that the faculty incorporates the notion that it is "us" trying to do something with "you people," therefore implying that you must reject your culture in order to become part of our academy, then that problem exists.

The solution to the problem in that form, at least for my purposes, is for university leadership to rethink its own self perception and for universities to move, among other things, beyond perceiving themselves as white institutions to perceiving themselves as pluralistic institutions in a plural culture. At that level, one doesn't become alien, and one's culture does not become alien.

From the other perspective, this question of assimilation is a dangerous one, because at some levels there is an anti-intellectual overtone that implies that certain people are simply culturally inauthentic if they become academics. That is a dangerous position. I tell the black students at Stony Brook that, "Whatever you do is black. If you play ping pong then it's black ping pong. If you fence, then it's black fencing, and we have no business at all in allowing anyone to buy us into a notion that there's an inherent contradiction between the academic and intellectual enterprises on the one hand and cultural authenticity on the other hand."

I concur, I think, with what Dr. Blackwell suggested earlier, that one of the prime solutions to that problem is to increase diversity in the faculty itself. Once the faculty is no longer homogeneous, and it does not behave in one cultural frame, then the institution becomes a pluralistic institution, and diversity is more likely to be celebrated.

Cross-Cultural Mentoring

Bob Smith: On the observation that Myrna made on assimilation, I want to raise it again with respect to Professor Harris's comments. It seems to me that, first, given the shortage of minority-group faculty, we know that many students would have to mentored by European Americans. In addition, I think that we might set up a problem if we imposed an obligation on African American or other minority faculty persons to mentor minority students. There may not be an intellectual interest between available minority faculty and minority students. There may not be the kind of personal chemistry that you spoke of. In addition, I teach African American politics. A lot of African American students are interested in that, but so are some European American students. And I think that its just as appropriate that they be mentored, that the European American students who are interested in my approach to the study of African American politics be mentored by an African American.

Then there is the question of power. We know that the career-enhancing and -confirming institutions of the academy are under the control of European Americans. So it may be more efficacious for the enhancement of the careers of minority scholars (and I'm not just talking at the dissertation-writing stage, I'm talking about the 10-, 15-, 20-year process), it may be more useful to have European Americans as mentors. It seems to me that there may be some advantage to looking at the assimilation process with this in mind.

Unknown Speaker: Cross-cultural mentoring would be one good way to deal with the problem of "cloning," whose bad effects we've mentioned. We talked about the advantages when the mentor and the protege are not identical, when they have different kinds of knowledge and different points. Things work out well in mentoring precisely when the differences are so great that cloning doesn't arise. There is no attempt to create a disciple or a reproduction of oneself. At best there is an attempt to create a colleague who will be different from us and whose difference will enable him/her to advance and transform the field.

Mentoring and the Goals of Research Institutions

Wesley Harris: What I was trying to do, and perhaps not effectively, was to describe what I think goes on at the senior research institutions in this country in engineering. If you ask what distinguishes M.I.T. and Stanford in engineering, it's not the dollar value of DOD research or NSF centers. It really is not that. The issue is one of the quality of the student that is produced. The fundamental principle in the high and very serious research environment is the quality of the Ph.D. student that you produce. As a black person who had gone to M.I.T. with the desire to earn tenure, to be promoted to the rank of full professor, I had to analyze the situation. I had to know clearly that the challenge in front of me was to produce Ph.D's who were brighter, more intense, more assertive, greater in every

sense than I am. Without that there aren't any Nobel Prize winners. This is it, you've got to produce students who are better. Number one. That's the game rule at M.I.T. To produce students who are better than you are. The proof of your judgment, your academic success, is your ability to produce an environment where students can achieve to their maximum.

Frank Bonilla: I was, at one time, a tenured full professor of political science at M.I.T. I think that I have a different angle on the process of mentoring there. The field in which the mentoring is done has considerable weight.

My recollection of M.I.T. in the early sixties is that the entering graduate students represented the top one half of one percent of performance on national tests. With a student body like that, it's very hard for the faculty to come out looking bad. In my own field of political science, the selection of students for the doctorate was equally rigorous, and, again, I say it was very hard to mess up those students and not have them come out as really outstanding products of political science training in the country. It's hard for me to think through how one could articulate specific ways in which a student was better than his mentor. There are some fields that develop at such a rapid clip that you can observe some of that very directly. I would find it hard in social science disciplines to really say that there has been such steady progress and such secure new knowledge to pass on, and such confidence in the rating paradigms, that it is very clear that each generation is, in fact, better prepared then the one that went before.

Mentoring as a Power Compact

John Reilly: I want to bring power relations into this discussion. We've heard the word. We are here in this meeting because we believe there is a crisis that involves exercise of power.

While it's illuminating to explore the attributes of mentors and mentees, I also have a sense that we regard the process as to some degree mysterious. Certainly, we believe that students should be free to choose a mentor or not to have one; but some students get forgotten.

I want to suggest to us all an analogy. In every government bureau there's a system of sponsorship of some sort. In every political organization, the same. In all kinds of organizations, including unions and others, there's such a thing. The popular culturists have taught us to call the person who is a sponsor a "godfather," a "rabbi" or what have you. In those circumstances, there is a contract or a compact, which is unwritten, that a sponsor and the one sponsored form a relationship of loyalty; in other cases it's going to extend their influence. There is a payoff, in other words. Extend some influence, sustain a power structure.

We've all been conditioned to think that such relationships are bad stuff and certainly should not intrude in the academic world. But possibly we can learn something from the outside. If we are serious that there is a crisis, if we do believe that mentoring is necessary to instruct people, to induct people, to initiate people, and that they should be treated as adults while this is happening, then maybe we ought let go of the mystery.

What are we talking about? Are we talking about formalizing, institutionalizing a mentoring system over which we can have some quality control, a compact within the institution? There's a payoff for the mentor, the overworked mentor. There would be a payoff, obviously, for the student, if the student is adequately mentored. If we're talking about an institutional commitment, a professional commitment, then I think we've got to talk about this power relationship. It's built on a compact.

Mentoring - A Reciprocal Relationship

Bob Daly: I'd like to agree with both Professor Blackwell and Professor Harris about mentoring. It seemed to me that what both of them were emphasizing was mentoring as a reciprocal relationship. As give and take, back and forth. When Confucius was asked if he could sum up all virtue in one word, he drew the Chinese character for reciprocity, for that give and take among equals which characterizes so much of our discourse in the university. One definition of a university professor is "a person who thinks otherwise." So we live in a pluralistic subculture within a pluralistic culture. Whether we want to admit that or not.

I was lucky when I was in graduate school, because I had two terrific mentors and one lousy one, and so I was able to tell the difference first hand. I wasn't that good at it at the time; I became good at it later on.

Professor Harris, I think, is very often right. Several of my mentees have gone on to academic careers more stellar then mine has been or is likely to be. They have tenure at Berkeley, tenure at Georgetown. One of those, in fact, was a black women. When you made that comment, I was thinking, now what did I do to produce her? It occurred to me that I didn't produce her. She produced herself. What we did was to swop a little lore. I helped her out in areas where I knew more than she did. I learned a great deal from her for example in areas of cultural transmission, about which I had hitherto known next to nothing. What I did was to wave pompoms wildly and cheer from the side lines as best I could.

While she went on, well past me, I realized in retrospect that that was what the two good mentors had done with me. One kept showing me bits and pieces of a manuscript he was working on about which he claimed he was very insecure. He was an historian, and he said, "I get into a lot of literary analysis in this manuscript, and I want to know what you literary types think about this." It was a terrific manuscript. I kept telling him it was a terrific manuscript, and I wasn't alone; he won the Pulitzer Prize for American history with that manuscript when it was published. The other one was constantly showing me things he was working on. Getting my advice, questioning me endlessly as if I was some great font of wisdom. I realized only in retrospect that those crafty rapscallions, were teaching me how to think in the discourse of my discipline. In fact, it's the back and forth that enables us to learn that.

Learning in graduate school is much less like eating than it is like exercise. You don't simply sit back there and listen to the great font of wisdom hold forth; you engage in a reciprocal relationship with someone who knows things that you don't and somebody who doesn't know some things that you do.

Mentoring Prescriptions

Mentoring Graduate Students, a Different Role

Raymond Garza: There are different levels of mentoring, different intentions of mentoring. This can become a problem when we "grow our own"—keeping undergraduates in our institutions as graduate students. While these students are undergraduates, faculty—very sympathetic minority faculty and some mainstream faculty, are very supportive, encouraging them to pursue graduate study, helping them with their applications, statements of purpose, etc. But if we keep them in our institutions, all of a sudden it's different.

It's not hypocrisy; it's a role change. We see our role with undergraduates as different from the role with graduates. When we are mentoring minority undergraduates about graduate education, we're not necessarily recruiting them to work for us at the graduate level. We're giving general support, which is essential. There's a difference once you switch, move up to the graduate level.

Even at the graduate level, there are different mentoring phases. First, you want to see if this student has the potential to earn a Ph.D. and, more specifically, to contribute to your research program. Let's not beat around the bush. If the answer to your initial inquiries is positive, then you've got to take a certain approach and use a certain strategy with that student. You really want to lure them to work with you and give them all the support they need.

But then comes their end of the bargain: I'm giving you facilities, you're working in my lab, I want some product from you. At that point, it becomes a very different experience, depending on how big your investment is in that student.

As minorities, many of us will mentor minority students, even in other disciplines, but is that the real mentoring that we're talking about that is going to lead to the production of scholars? I don't think so. I think we're looking for that last level where we, in essence, become equals and colleagues. When we engage not only in mutually supportive exchanges about our research but in bitter debates and arguments—we might not talk to one another for a week or two. That last level of mentoring is where we're still deficient.

When you're talking about someone to work for someone who has a research reputation, who has a preeminent status as a scholar, these are very selective individuals. These are the individuals who can get on the phone and tell a colleague, "Listen, a year or two down the road, I have a student. You'd better be looking out, because if you're fortunate, you might be able to have an opportunity to recruit him. This is a future star." When it comes to minorities, that's the level where we're lacking. We've done an excellent job of telling them about graduate school. I think we've done too much of that. Those of us on the campuses continually give them support and hold their hands and stuff. That won't make scholars out of them by itself.

Mentoring Has Many Meanings, Many Actions

Joyce Justus: In our meeting, we began to realize that we use "mentoring" to mean different things. For some of us, a mentor is the student dissertation advisor or major professor. For others, the role may be that of general academic counselor, support person, encourager or challenger. We could be talking about two or more different people. Great if the roles are combined in one person, but they don't have to be.

From the standpoint of quality control, those of us who have been in graduate deans' offices know that you can have something to say about the dissertation advisor, because s/he has rather specific responsibilities. If those responsibilities aren't met, the graduate dean's office can exert some control on that person. But for other mentor roles, we usually don't even know who the mentors are, let alone having any power to regulate how they do the job.

Student-Mentor Match

Joyce Justus: It's unrealistic to expect a close match between the abilities and interests of most graduate students and their dissertation advisors or mentors. If you look at the entire population of these faculty/student combinations, the chances are that the amount of similarity per combination can be represented by a normal distribution curve, with most students and faculty members sharing a modest number of interests/abilities/characteristics. It's wonderful when you have a superstar faculty member, great advisor and great mentor, who is matched with a superstar, hot-shot student. But for every one of these matches, there is surely a disastrous mismatch of student from one end of the curve and faculty member from the other; either way, either mix. We can be grateful that, most of the time, the relationship falls in the middle range.

Community Mentors

Norman Johnson: If we successfully identify, recruit, get a student through undergraduate school, graduate school and then help effect placement at a university in good position, the individual that is going to be the most effective at what s/he does has to be ready to hit the ground running. That's what's required of them. So when we talk about mentoring, we need to be sure to include an essential ingredient—the vitality and initiative of the student. We need to pay attention to what nourishes that vitality, the "body," the community we come from.

For Indian students, for example, in the last fifteen years, tribal community colleges have become the source for catapulting young people out into the educational process. There is a huge difference between the kind of environment, the kind of education and concerns at the community colleges and what the students find in other institutions of higher education.

I'm very appreciative of every mentor I've had on all lev-

els. They may have been Chinese, Anglo, male or female. Sometimes it's been a kind of shotgun approach, and sometimes I've gone without. The most valuable kind of mentoring for me has been the mentoring that has let me look back at where I've come from. The journey back, the keeping in touch with that kind of community, that body out of which any kind of mental vitality I have comes.

When we think of mentoring, we have to be thinking also of community and identifying those people in communities who may not be able to tell a student about specific academic requirements, or political snares to watch out for but who can say to the student, "Go for it, get out there." Many of us come from families where we're the first college-educated people. So that challenge from within the community produces the person who can hit the ground running.

Faculty Must Show They Care

Robert Lichter: Pervading all of the discussion was the important point that faculty have to show that they care about the students, that they care about students' progress. Without this, the rest is mechanical, and it isn't clear that it would really have an effect.

Mentoring/Sponsoring

Joyce Justus: We really are talking about different things if we happen to be minority faculty. I spend a lot of my time mentoring minority students, mainly not in my discipline. With these students, mentoring has let me look back at where I've come from. The journey back, the keeping in touch with that kind of community, that body out of which any kind of mental vitality I have comes.

Unknown Speaker: When it comes to getting a student ready for graduate school, we spend a lot of time talking about advising. But mentoring a student goes much further than just advising the student about how to get into graduate student and what kind of resources are available. Mentoring could go into career planning, for instance. Students usually know such a narrow range of options and such limited reasons why they should even go to graduate school.

Mentor Availability

Donald Fixico: Students have a right to information, but quite often students never really ask the questions that would make a real difference, especially students that tend to be quiet, whether minority or non-minority. Many times they have no any access to any information at all, so they fumble their way through the maze of what graduate school is about. Sometimes they progress, and it's too late to turn around.

As faculty and graduate administrators, it's important to educate them in two ways, academic education and secular education. I try to get to my class about five or ten minutes before the hour and talk to them about the everyday realities of education, university life, graduate school, to provide that information to them. Too often, the professor just comes in, does his thing and leaves. That's not enough.

ENLARGING SCHOLARLY CANONS AND BOUNDARIES

Presentations on making changes in the scholarly enterprise itself made it clear that the desire for expanded canons and boundaries within disciplines is no mere self-serving caprice. Culture is a powerful determiner of both the content and methods of scholarship, and in a plural society such as ours in the United States, continued refusal to develop scholarship that is actively connected to the broad spectrum of citizen cultures is wrong in spirit and mind and certainly dangerous in practice.

In the sessions on access to the scholarly life and on mentoring, participants had looked in some detail at the human and social waste of neglecting the scholarly talent in underrepresented groups. Now the conference focussed on the waste of intellectual breadth and vitality which has come, and will come, to U.S. scholarship through failure to open up fully to all that is in our society and, by extension, in the ever-closer world outside our borders.

It was not an easy subject to deal with, because, while it is usually discussed in abstract terms, the failure to open up the disciplines has had and will continue to have very concrete effects on African Americans, American Indians and Latinos: Eurocentric disciplines cannot attract the necessary numbers of underrepresented groups to graduate study; for those who are attracted, completion of doctoral studies is inhibited; the career paths for junior faculty from these minorities are compromised.

Even in the abstract, the disciplines are hard to discuss. Nobody thinks there can be prescriptions for what should be included in given scholarly fields. Prescriptions are products of what has already taken the fancy of scholars—not guides to the development of knowledge.

The scholarly process itself, therefore, became the subject. How can this be opened up? Whose needs should be met? Who does, and who should, have power in these decisions? (The "political" part.) Should all intellectual decisions be made by faculty? How does that accord with tenure, which makes the decision-making faculty a privileged and self-perpetuating community?

Fiercely committed to quality in scholarship, participants warned against the stultification and exclusion that come from defining "quality" in ethnocentric, monocultural, temperocentric and otherwise narrowly self-regarding terms. Scholars, like everyone else living today, must accept that they live with accelerating change, in a world (which is at the same time many worlds of experience) where people share

more in common than we ever have before but must, like the increasingly close neighbors we are, also come to positive terms with differences that are real, profound and cherished.

Strategies for Transforming Scholarship

Margaret Wilkerson: I want to go beyond my paper to add some recommendations.

First of all, I have trouble with the term "minority scholarship." As we look at strategies for expanding canons in various fields, we need to devise other terms. We need to talk about the transforming quality of scholarship and about the kind of challenge that it poses. Developing broader terminology gives us the advantage of including other challenging work that may not be done by minority scholars. As I look at the kinds of changes that are being suggested and are occurring in the field, I find the minority scholars are a part of a larger effort that is going on. We should situate ourselves so that we can have allies—for example, feminist scholars—who are raising some of the same kinds of questions.

Secondly, I think we need to tackle head on the very tough problem of educating faculty—those who are educable at least. Faculty need to get critical, truly critical, and to be learners in a way that they perhaps haven't been for many years. I recognize that this means challenging them to reexamine assumptions upon which many of them have built scholarly careers. This is an area that we must not ignore. We must not simply throw up our hands and say, "It's too difficult; we can't possibly make any changes." We cannot afford to take that point of view.

Thirdly, we desperately need to reform the peer review and reward system. I'm not going to spend any time on that, because I know that is the topic of Issue IV. However, I do think that we need somehow to include other affected parties in this process, such as representatives of the public and students, as problematic as that may be. There must be some kind of monitoring. I'm not sure that we can afford to leave the selection of future faculty entirely up to our current faculty. That may be approaching heresy in this group, but I do think that we've got to look at that issue.

Fourth, we must engage our colleagues in substantive discussions about quality. I simply refuse to give ground on the issue of quality. We must redefine quality. Perhaps without diversity, quality doesn't exist. In fields such as literature and theatre, I can say that if you frame your particular theories of literature, and even theories of culture, without considering the experience of others, without even being cognizant of them, I must question the quality of your research. I think that we really have to raise the issue of quality in terms of research. I'm not suggesting that we replace one orthodoxy with another, but we do need to devise means of allowing the academy to continually renew itself intellectually.

Fifth, we need research support for minority faculty at all levels. The fact that it was so difficult to get the papers finished and photocopied for this conference is a case in point. All of us are stretched in many, many different ways, and if we are to continue producing in the scholarly realm, we must have the support and the space to do it.

I was impressed with the way in which this conference has been put together and have great hopes for its results. I would like to see us organize a national initiative to present to and discuss with major scholars in each field the transforming scholarship being developed by minorities. It should be a conscious strategy to place our scholarship, to the extent that we are able, at the center of our fields.

On making this recommendation I call your attention to the work that was done by feminist scholars in the mid to late 1970's. I was directing the Women's Research and Education center at Berkeley at that time and was a part of some of the national feminist scholarship efforts at that time. Some of us may wonder how it is that women's studies programs got established so quickly, how it is that the integration process, the inclusion of feminist scholarship, has happened, perhaps to a greater degree than it has for minority scholarship. It has to do with the fact that feminist scholars had a conscious strategy to make that happen. There are some other variables also, but there was a very conscious strategy to establish scholarship in the academic mainstream.

There was special funding for the effort, and I suggest that we ought to think along those lines as well. We should such have such forums and colloquia on campuses, at professional association meetings, meetings of foundation officers, publishers—especially university presses, administrators and the general public. It's terribly important that the public at large understand something about the kind of work that we are doing and that we be able to communicate with that public, to feed back into communities some of what they have given to us.

We need to make an effort to identify and involve potential allies from across the color spectrum in this initiative. We need broader and faster dissemination of our research so that we can see it reflected in our curricula, in colleges and universities as well as high schools and elementary schools, where I think part of the real battle is being fought.

A couple of weeks ago we had a large symposium at Berkeley on "Cultural Pluralism, the Educated Californian for the Twenty-First Century." This was initiated by students, but the students were able to gather support from the Chancellor's office and from the faculty senate. It received quite a bit of publicity on the campus and in the California area. What that symposium did was to legitimize the discussion. Since that symposium, a number of us who are minority faculty have been approached by white faculty, by faculty of various departments who are now expressing an interest in at least further dialogue.

It's important that we make the topic an acceptable subject, a public subject that is worthy of discussion. Of course, that the black students on our campus made some demands on the Chancellor and held three rallies and threatened and called attention all helped; all of that is a part of making the dialogue possible. But I think that this is a very timely

moment for us to be moving this kind of agenda, and I hope we will take advantage of it.

Publication and the Journals

Slayton Evans: I think that one's continual intellectual evolution requires a continual review of one's values and aspirations and ultimately a cost analysis of what it takes to achieve good scholarship. There is a bit of politics involved in defining good scholarship. When you are an assistant professor, you aspire to do the best you possibly can at whatever you're doing. The politics is getting people to recognize it.

The recognition depends on your peers and how they view what you have done. Once it's submitted to the journal, how do you encourage your colleagues or peers to recognize your scholarship? How do you get them to put it on the map? You don't. The best you can do is publish it. Once that's achieved you're on your way.

I think that moots the question of whether or not you need a particular journal for a particular discipline and whether or not you must publish in a long-standing journal. It removes this controversy over whether five articles in some journal that was discovered or created five years ago is worth one article in a journal that is fifty years old. I would appreciate a comment or a response about the politics of this effort.

Edmund Gordon: Let me react to that with two quick examples. I refer to Curt Banks's work. About ten years ago now, Curt submitted a review article to *Psychological Review*. He was advancing some of his rather radical notions, and of course they sent it back to him showing all of the things that were wrong with the article. Curt and I sat and worked with this piece, tried to cast his ideas in more traditional frames of reference and, a year or so later, resubmitted it. It's true that the editor had changed by then, but they took it.

Second example, my oldest son, who's an economic anthropologist, is a Marxist, and he's very politically active and committed. In talking with him about establishing his credentials, we talked about the importance of not leading from that perspective, because it was not going to get him the kind of recognition and acknowledgement that he needs as his initial introduction to the field. Now having established himself, he can diverge.

The point is that, even though it is uncomfortable, one does have to restrain the expression of some of one's ideas in order to get into the union. But once you are there I think one can be considerably less discrete. I think I enjoy the privilege of saying what I think now. I don't think I would be where I am now, if I had said everything that I thought thirty years ago.

Margaret Wilkerson: I have a couple of comments about that. My concern is whether one is able to keep one's sense of defiance, as I put it, as one goes through that process. I've seen too many colleagues who get through that process and forget that they had anything else to say before they became tenured. Maybe one of the questions we need to explore is, "How do you maintain your intellectual integrity, while getting through the process?"

My other comment, may be simplistic for fields not my own. In my field of theatre, which is considerably smaller then some of the areas that you represent, publishing in refereed journals has been greatly facilitated by the involvement of ethnic/racial minority individuals in professional associations. I want to suggest that you may be able to put a face to a name and author an article if you avail yourselves of the opportunity to meet informally in professional associations with some of the major referees in your fields. This gives a chance to make your ideas known and to become a little more palatable to the traditional scholar. It may be easier in a smaller field like mine, but I've seen that work to great advantage.

Tom Reefe: I want to build on that. That is frequently the way that area studies got legitimized in main historical disciplines.

I do African Studies, and when Philip Curtin got on the editorial board of the *American Historical Review*, the first thing that happened was that we had a theme issue on African history. I want to ask Raymond Garza with the American Psychological Association whether you think it's feasible, say in a big organization like the A.P.A., which has many different kinds of options for infiltration, to get one of the journals to do a special issue on a theme that's related to ethnic minorities or ethnicity. The Modern Language Association, is another case in point.

Raymond Garza: Anything is possible. I don't think its very likely. Psychology, American psychology I should say, is not very progressive. It's an individualistic discipline, and certainly there is this aura of universality to which Gordon alluded. I think that the issue of general publication won't, at least within psychology, be improved substantially until more of us get on the editorial boards. This is rough. I have to echo what Margaret Wilkerson said. You have to go to the associations, run for office, do all those things that may not be appealing to us, but that's the only way that we can eventually inch our way in and take some control and do what other editors have done in other disciplines.

Politics? It's all politics. Once you get past a certain level of intellectual mastery and you have something to say, then it's politics. If they don't like what you're saying, they'll say that your paradigms are inadequate. If your paradigms are o.k., then your method had problems. If everything's o.k., then there's not enough interest in the readership to publish it. I must say this, I did not follow Gordon's path. I did a schizophrenic approach to my own publication. I would publish some things in a minority outlet to vent my hostilities and some things in mainstream outlets to justify my existence.

Edmund Gordon: That last thing is awfully important. If one is going to function in the academy one has to convince the people that are already there that you belong there. And if you don't show some of the traditional signs of competence, they can easily use all the other reasons to exclude you. I think if we follow our own agendas too rigidly and

never get in the academy, we don't have the opportunity to try to change it.

Unknown Speaker: I'm reminded of a *Washington Post* article from 1972 where Ralph Ellison comments on new black writers. One of the things he emphasized there was the importance of knowing one's craft. That's important for our effectiveness in influencing our fields. It is important that we emphasize and demonstrate expertise in using the analytical tools of our respective disciplines. This cuts two ways, doing our own work and critiquing the work in the field, and in both cases it enables us to demonstrate the validity of alternative approaches.

And when it comes to alternative approaches, I don't think it's useful to pursue either/or strategies. If we want alternative perspectives legitimized, then we are responsible for that legitimation. We have to make the alternatives legitimate. That's not to say that it's unimportant to be accepted within the discipline, so we are on the inside to influence decisions, but rather to emphasize the importance of demonstrating the value of the work from alternative and challenging perspectives.

A New Kind of Scholarship

Unknown Speaker: I was glad to hear Charlene McDermott's reference to Bloom's "Closing of the American Mind," because I think its success is a good model for the kind of problem that we are talking about. Bloom talks as if the truth had been discovered by Plato and we must all sit at the feet of the sage and his disciples. But I am a little disappointed in the response to the book.

We talk about mainstream scholarship and alternative approaches, and I'd like to comment on the type of scholarship we really need for the future. What we need is not just comparative or just culturally oriented but what I would call the global perspective in which we can keep multiple views of time, for example, in our minds at the same time. Not just the Chicano or black or mainstream Platonic or Aristotelean, but many different perspectives. If we're really going to transfer and transform the academy, which is still Platonic and Aristotelean, then we have to develop a whole new type of scholarship.

Charlene McDermott: That's exactly what I was referring to when I talked about complementarity. This ecumenicality we're after can only be had when you have a spectrum and the richest possible set of alternatives.

Margaret Wilkerson: New scholarship of whatever kind can be dangerous to one's future, especially if it challenges some of the icons of one's field and speaks with a voice often better represented outside our ivy-covered walls. There is strong pressure on new faculty to avoid such pitfalls and to walk a thin line between their own creativity and the expectations of their established colleagues.

"Minority scholarship" is particularly at risk because of its revisionist and transforming questions and its essentially public voice which injects into the cloistered academy the outrage, questions, the experiences of those who have usually been excluded from scholarly concern.

I spoke of the tyranny of tenure, with the careerists' truisms about who one gets ahead, what scholarship is valued and how that determination is amade. If I were an assistant professor at this point, I should be very concerned about delivering such a paper as mine, because it is not within my field of dramatic arts. This kind of paper, I have been told sometimes by colleagues, would be evaluated as service, not as scholarship.

Cultural Issues in the Sciences

Jules Lapidus: With two exceptions, the speakers today have been from the social sciences and humanities. As a chemist, I'm particularly interested in the opinions not just of the panel, but of other physical scientists in the room. What about paradigms and publishing and so on? It's a fairly common occurrence in many fields in the sciences, molecular-spectroscopy is one that I know of particularly, to have people from a variety of different cultures, races, religions or differing backgrounds doing work in a way that is accepted internationally, across cultures. Are the issues that we're talking about here based very firmly in the social sciences and humanities, or are there individuals in the room who have seen it in the physical and biological sciences?

Henry McBay: Unfortunately, and on rare occasions, this politicizing infiltrates the natural sciences. In these cases I have been completely nonplused as to what one can do about it. I'll give you just two examples from my own experiences.

One editor for the *Journal of the American Chemical Society* (the journal in the world for recognition in chemistry), now deceased, refused to allow me to publish an article for the reason that, and he stated the reason unequivocally and unabashedly, he would not allow me to correct an error in the literature that was made by Professor So-and-so, who was my professor when I was attending school at this great prestigious university, for he was a prodigious worker and seldom found to be in error, and I in the remote boondocks and from that position could not correct it. That error is still in the literature. It has found its way down into the text books still uncorrected. Now, the structure, the cathedral of organic chemistry is not about to fold because of that, but that doesn't make it any less wrong.

One more example: In a newly emerging sub-branch of organic chemistry, from a small school, you try to present a paper that organizes the approach and suggests some terminology. That same editor says, "There is no need for this kind of terminology at this time." Before you can turn around, that terminology is in the literature from a more prestigious institution. I don't know what you can do about that kind of decision making. It is rare now. I simply want to say that it is there occasionally, even in the natural sciences.

Edmund Gordon: Let me add a quick example that you might want to look at if you don't know it. Harold Delaney

and I were at Howard in the days of black intellectual giants there, and one of them was Ernest Just. There's a beautiful biography of Just, called *Black Apollo of Science.* If I remember the issue correctly, in part because of his color, a very important contribution to embryology lay dormant for a number of years because of its origin. I think it had to do with the contribution that the cell wall makes to the development of the cell, or something like that. Yes it does happen in all areas, but most often in the social sciences.

Slayton Evans: If we feel less of this impact generally in the natural sciences, it has to do with the fact that there are no ethnic and cultural overtones in the natural sciences. You don't see the faces, the writing style is basically the same, the language is the same, and you can't tell because you look at numbers or structures, and the results come out in a trend which you might anticipate. If you happen to come in contact with an negative editor, as Professor McBay did, then your challenge is to circumvent the editor and to promote the idea with a group of referees, or to sooth egos with the editor. Its a political game, but you learn to do those things.

Complexities of Cultural Authenticity

Kate Vangen: My name is Kate Vangen and I'm from the University of Washington. I hope that I'm not taking us on another tack that we'll all regret, but, among Indian people, when Indian people get together, the first thing you say is, "My name is such-and-such and I'm an Assinaboine," or whatever. When I was introduced to Lenore, she said, "Oh you're an Assinaboine, where are you from?" Then, "Who's in your family?" So the connections that we make are different in lots of respects.

I'm thinking now of the diversity among us. As I sat, and this is the third session today, I thought on every issue that Indian scholarship is very marginal and peripheral to the mainstream that we're all talking about.

There was a joke I came upon, more a sight gag, cartoon, where a group of tribal peoples are gathered together in a huddle, and then they say to each other, "Well then, by a vote of 5 to 3, we agree that we'll skip the industrial revolution and move on to the computer age."

The issue of time in Indian scholarship is crucial. I was talking this morning to John McClusky about the so-called Harlem "Renaissance," as if black voices had ever had any legitimacy in American mainstream literary circles. They hadn't.

In terms of the mainstream, the Native American "renaissance" has been dubbed as beginning in 1969 with the occupation of Alcatraz, the publication of [N. Scott] Momaday's *House Made of Dawn,* and a Pulitzer Prize winning novel, *Custer Died for Your Sins* [by Vine Deloria]. So, in 1969 we moved into the computer age, and we did indeed skip the industrial age. When we bring our particular epistemological, ontological studies to the mainstream, we're still dusting off our hides, and we're still in some sense bringing not only different epistemologies and ontologies, but also, we're bringing different pedagogical models.

This morning, an issue of cultural authenticity in academe was raised. I felt I needed to hang on to that for a while, because what I do on the borderland of Indian country is in a sense so far removed from the Indian people that I really am intending to serve that they don't even speak my language anymore. In fact, my field is so white dominated that most of the people that do literary criticism on Indian texts speak no Indian languages at all. This would be unheard of if you were doing any kind of French literature, translated into English. So our cultural authenticity issue isn't one of getting into journals, it is an issue of wrestling to get back from the mainstream our authority to speak for ourselves.

Different Ways of Knowing

Edmund Gordon: I talk to my students about the importance of exploring different ways of knowing. I talk about the arts, the humanities and the sciences. All are ways of knowing, and the tradition of giving highest priority, highest value to science, I think, is simply an error. We natural and social scientists are very good at detecting the mechanisms, the mechanics by which something may be explained. But if one wants to understand the meaning of a phenomenon, you don't turn to the social scientists or the biologists, you turn to the humanists. Science speaks to mechanism, the humanities and arts speak to meaning. I remind my students that it was the advent of a scientific method that freed us from dogma, but we want to recognize that science is only one of the ways of knowing.

Taking Scholarship to "the Public"

Communities as "the Public"

Margaret Wilkerson: As a member of the group, I want to comment on our recommendation of taking scholarship to the public. This came out of a discussion of empowering our communities and our recognition that much of what we do, the research that we do and the conclusions that we reach, might help bring power to our communities. It also came out of the recognition that funding for scholarly work, whether from foundations or other sources, is often directly related to the amount of political clout that communities develop.

Some of us in this group were also very much influenced, by the presence of Dr. John Henry Clark, who told us that in the midst of his very busy schedule—a prolific, productive scholar—he takes time out to teach African history in two Harlem churches. A dramatic example of a scholar disseminating his work, understanding that what he does in the cloisters of the academy is directly related to the needs of people in the community to understand themselves better, to understand their history, to become empowered.

Legitimacy from General Public Support

Raymond Garza: I'm uncomfortable with the suggestion of taking scholarship—minority or majority—to the general public. I think that we're asking for problems. It's difficult to convince our own selves at times that what we're doing is

worthy of our time and effort. I think it will be impossible to convince the public. I can't support the idea that we're going to get legitimacy for scholarship by getting public support.

Myrna Adams: I think that the wisdom of taking scholarship issues to the public depends on the topic. I just want to point out that, when it came to getting money for necessary basic research on AIDS, bringing that issue to the public was an essential step. Without public pressure, the funds were not there.

Bill Harvey: Since the beginning of the Reagan administration, there have been several federal publications monitoring social indicators that are no longer available. As an example, the 1982-83 HEGIS data on degree attainment, compiled by race, ethnicity and gender, was never completed. The Reagan administration never provided the funding for the people to clean the data. So that data file as it exists is unclean. That is an example of the need for public awareness and monitoring. As we give examples, we define the kinds of understanding and issues we want to take before the public, and the particular "publics" we have in mind.

Another example is the need to interact with our publics when it comes to developing policy recommendations.

The Meaning of "Scholarship"

Jules Lapidus: In the discussions of this topic, not just here but over the past few years, one of the things that I've found confusing is that the term scholarship is used to cover such a multitude of things all the time. I would like to see a little more specificity. In taking about scholarship are we talking about choice of topic? (The question of whether a particular problem is trivial or significant.) Are we talking about scholarly methodology? (The question of whether certain methods are or are not "appropriate.") Are we talking about discipline specificity? Are we talking across the board, all fields, or are we talking primarily in the social sciences and the humanities? Just using the term "scholarship" raises a whole bunch of questions, that I think we need to answer.

William Harvey: Some of those points came up in our discussion, and obviously we've not resolved them fully. Where we wound up, in fact, was suggesting that some people sit down and think about these the very issues that you're talking about. Such a task force should be composed of members from each of the communities represented here. From such a meeting, we hoped, could come a statement that we could all stand behind. It might, indeed, be more specific than what we have been talking about here. We felt that the process was important, and we felt that timeliness was also important.

Our concern was to get out an understanding that what we have seen in the academy so far, from our standpoint, has been a relatively narrow, exclusive idea of what is scholarship. That's to our detriment, and we think it is important to get people to understand that this limitation exists and to get the discourse going about ways in which to broaden scholarship.

INCENTIVES AND REWARDS FOR CHANGE

In the long run, bringing significant numbers of African Americans, American Indians and Latinos into the academy as scholars and faculty members will depend on broad efforts, based on recognition by institutions of higher education, their governing bodies, administrations and faculty members, that inclusion of these underrepresented minority groups is essential, for reasons of excellence and intellectual vigor, of economic and social policy, of national development and of equity—because it is right.

In the meantime, incentives and rewards are important aids to bringing about changes in the behavior of faculty—the people with the most direct power of decision over who comes into, who stays in, and who will inherit the academy. Papers on the issue showed a range of options available to reward faculty members—and their departments and those who oversee them—for effective action on behalf of underrepresented-minority students or faculty at any stage along the access-to-tenure path.

At every level in the university hierarchy, individual commitment can get results. At every level, commitment is necessary to move beyond the past and open up the world of scholarship to talent throughout the population. Some committed people have been doing what is necessary for years; now it's time to use the existing rewards to reinforce what they do and, by example, to induce change in the faculty as a whole.

Who Can Do What?

Myrna Adams: This panel has a former president, a former provost, a dean and a faculty member, so we have all the ranks. My question is, what, from each of these positions, can someone do about incentives and rewards if he or she is willing to risk the popularity or even his/her position to do it? What can a president do? What can a provost do? a dean or a faculty member? It doesn't seem to me that anybody who advocates on behalf of people of color in institutions of higher learning can expect to stay in a position long, to be well regarded or to be well rewarded. You must know that you risk your position when you do it. Assuming that you're willing to take the risk, what can you do? What did you try that worked? What didn't work? How much pressure did you have to take?

Herman Blake: I think I summarized my position in my

initial presentation; that is, when you're at the top of the organization, one of your major resources is the budget. The way you administer that budget states your vaues.

Dr. Neal made the point that perhaps faculty should be compensated when they respond to and work with minority students. Well it seems to me that the president or the dean should be the one who makes that decision and states it in clear budgetary terms to all involved. Dr. Garfias talked about the minority set asides at the University of California. Chuck Young and some people at U.C.L.A. started that a long time ago and did it. Other chancellors just couldn't seem to get it going until Dick Atkinson came into San Diego and picked it up; then others seemed to pick it up. Those were the people who controlled the budgets and they knew what they were going to do.

But there is also the point that Dr. Garfias made, that whatever you do you're suspect. I think you have to accept the reality that it's a lonely position, and it's a thankless task. A person in this kind of position has to accept that your tenure may not be long, your popularity may not be great, but what you want to do is have an impact that is long lasting. You may pay a price, but ultimately it really works if you will decide that you're not going to give in, that you're going to push people.

One final point: We're talking about incentives for faculty, but I think one of the things that a president and a dean must do, particularly with respect to minority faculty, junior faculty and women faculty, is they have to protect them against themselves in their battle with the system. I can give you a memorable example from when we were building Santa Cruz. We appointed the first black woman full professor in the University of California system, Diane Lewis. We were very pleased with that, but it took some doing. She underwent a three-year evaluation, and for three years she was under a searchlight. We just had to remove every obstacle and every other responsibility and obligation and run interference for her. We wouldn't let her even answer letters. Maybe we were being paternalistic, but when somebody asked her to serve on a committee, I'd say no. We didn't even give her a choice. What she did was sit and crank out major articles. Then when we came to get her regularized, there was no question that she came in at professor.

Roberto Garfias: I feel like echoing everything that Herman said. I also feel that part of the frustration and unhappiness of being an administrator is that there is so little you can do. Yet that little bit that you can do becomes very, very important.

I would make a distinction between two areas of action. One is providing resources, if it's possible for you to do so, to allow something to happen. If you're up high enough, you can set aside resources for faculty positions, or further down you can set aside money for faculty research, as I pointed out. The thing that you cannot do is begin to interfere in the process of recruitment or get directly involved with faculty during the process of recruitment, because as a minority faculty administrator, you lose all credibility. Then your days are really numbered.

Once a person has been recruited, then you can do all kinds of things to encourage their retention and provide support and interpret the record in various ways. Though if the guy wants to spend every night at the Black Student Union meeting instead of publishing papers, then even the people who want to defend him don't have a leg to stand on. You've got to let him go. He did not serve his purpose.

I wanted to add one thing on national funding programs. There's a very serious problem with developing political sensitivity on the part of both faculty and reviewers in the process. In a certain sense, I feel the same frustration about faculty. There are certain people, as I pointed out in my short presentation, who just feel that affirmative action is none of their business, and if you really insist on it, their response is, "You take care of it; don't bother us with it, we're out for quality." Those people, you just have to go around. I think it's hopeless. You can't get the message through.

Donald Fixico: From a faculty perspective, the greatest risks are two: The first one, which is the more important, is time. Time is the most precious commodity of all. So that if you spend a considerable amount of time on minority concerns, you can have a problem. But still, for the time spent, there can be a reward, some type of legacy or some type of impact that you might make, something very long lasting, perhaps even immortal. I mean, that's what you hope for, the continuation of your work somehow, through your students. That's a good replacement for lost time.

The other element is criticism. Of course, you'd probably become very unpopular for "wasting your time," as it might be called, in helping minority students.

Homer Neal: At the provost level there are a limited number of things that one can do. For example, setting aside faculty positions to be used for targeted hiring. That we did attempt at Stony Brook. Indeed, there are a few minority faculty that are there now that would not have been there had not this program been instituted. They are absolutely fine individuals. There's no way to draw a distinction between them and any other appointments made by the university.

It was a very, very difficult undertaking and indeed, touched the nerve of many individuals who do not think that such set aside programs are appropriate. That does require an administrator who, after carefully weighing all the aspects of the problem, will make a decision and then proceed and accept whatever fallout there is afterwards.

There are many other things that are much less controversial. Providing support for conference travel for faculty who, indeed, are going to assist with the university's affirmative action efforts and, also, providing assistance for junior faculty members. Something else a provost can do and should do is to provide support to the university's graduate school for specialized recruitment efforts and, indeed, for conferences such as the one we're having today. A global faculty development program is something that can be done.

Who is Succeeding?

Reginald Wilson: The American Council on Education has a grant to study successful production of minority doctorates, and we've been doing that for the past year. We're at about the third stage of that study.

We first reviewed the production record for the past ten years of all of the Ph.D. granting institutions in the country. Then we wanted to identify those that were producing above average numbers of minority doctorates. That immediately eliminated 3/4 of the graduate schools in the country.

Then when we got down to the fifty that we wanted to look at, we wanted to find out what is it that they're doing that makes their numbers look good. Except for the artifacts of demography, like New Mexico, where you've got to have fairly decent numbers because half the state is Hispanic, they're not doing anything. In fact, they're trying to keep people out. But a certain number tend to get through anyway.

After you screen some of those out, what we're beginning to find—and we're now doing case studies on those institutions whose numbers are pretty good—is that there are two or three professors in two or three departments who have been doing this for years, without any rewards, without any incentives, without anybody patting them on the back. They just said, "That's our mission, that's what I'm about." Those are the ones that have been turning out the numbers. Most of them are not members of minority groups. I think that that gives, perhaps, just a glimmer of hope that t' ere are some folks out there who really do this because it's right.

Why Make Changes?

Robert Lichter: When these issues are brought up before faculty—whether in the outlining and defining of mechanisms to address the specific issues that we are dealing with here or in dealing with the broad questions of graduate education, of changing the canons of graduate education—the response is, "Yes, these are things that we have to do, but we have to do them in spite of why we are here." It seems to me that our objective must be to make faculty—to make universities, to make administrators who set the tone for faculty—understand that doing these things is precisely part of the reason why they are here.

Support from the Top

Robert Lichter: In addition to the kind of actions already described, every institution needs a clear institutional statement, from the top-most levels, saying that this issue has priority and must be worked into the academic plan. And, because talk is cheap, the statement must be backed up b · appropriate financial support, independent of the normal political budgeting process, so that the suggestions that have been made can be put into action. Furthermore, when these suggestions are about to be put into place on local campuses, when the attacks come, couched perhaps in the language of faculty prerogatives vs. administrative interference, those people charged with the responsibility of carrying out the mission and trying to reach the objectives and the goals get the clear, stated, unambiguous backing of the highest levels of the administration.

John Marburger: I will say a word from the point of view of the chief institutional officer of a campus. There is money available. There are positions available. There are resources that can be made available at the campus level. It is not necessary to have a new infusion of money from a major national foundation or from the federal government in order to make some of the ideas work that you've labored to produce at this conference. It's only necessary to raise the institutional priority level of these activities. Presidents bear an important responsibility for setting priorities in institutions. One of those priorities should certainly be increasing access to full intellectual life and to full participation in the economic and cultural benefits of our nation.

I'm sure that, if they don't know it now, presidents of all of our institutions throughout this country will become very conscious of the necessity of increasing the level of priority for these initiatives. I think that it's important to establish and to continue to maintain a national network and to increase the level of national consciousness of the need to do something, but I wouldn't overlook the opportunities for action that already exist on each of your campuses, just as they exist on ours.

LOOKING AHEAD

Change as an Open Process

Unknown Speaker: I'd like to talk about process. Our experience in this workshop was that the process was really transforming. We got together and talked about these issues, and the very process of examining and struggling with the issues was as important as our product. I'd like to suggest that faculty in general tend to feel that way. We tend to like to have a hand in what evolves. We tend not to like things slapped on the plate already finished for us to consume or deal with. A key element in motivating the faculty is to insure that they are central in conceiving how faculty are to be involved.

Contrary to the way we're trained—which is to think things through to closure, finished products, before presenting them to others—the process we need for change is an open one. It has to allow for collaborative work before closure. As we go back to our respective universities, the worst thing we could say is that we've resolved these issues. The best thing we could say is that we've thought about the issues, come up with some interesting approaches and now need to hear what others think.

Unknown Speaker: Some suggestions for success with faculty: Don't call it a committee, because most faculty members don't like committees. Do feed the group. Third, take them off campus where removal from the familiar and from distractions can open the way for consensus. We'll do better as facilitators and organizers than we will in telling faculty what to do. We can say that we need better training models for faculty than the ones we learned in graduate school and are still imposing on our own students.

Future Focus

Myrna Adams: It is important, in the effort represented by this conference, that we have worked very hard to include Latinos and American Indians as well as African Americans. The possibility of including Asian Americans in future is still an open one. We had a particular set of problems in mind when we formed the group as we did, and that was related to their historical situation and present underrepresentation in doctoral programs.

Richard Steinhardt: I think you ought to include Asian Americans. There are some local pockets of success for Asian Americans, but in my own experience in mentoring Asian American students, when they go out looking for jobs, they run into the same sorts of problems that we have been talking about here, and I see no reason not to include them, because I think they have the same concerns.

Homer Neal: On the question of Asian-Americans, Betty Vetter did a study that showed that Asian-Americans who have been here for more than one generation seem to have encountered some of the same difficulties as other ethnic minorities. If you subject non-white people to the educational system in the U.S., it does terrible things to them, and that includes Asian-Americans. The reason we don't normally notice this is because of the very large number of Asian-Americans that come from the top of a talent pyramid in a country like China, some of the brightest people in the world. They come here, and they do very well in the sciences and chosen areas. But if you take an Asian-American child, put the child in kindergarten and then stand back and watch what happens, the reports are that they encounter many of the same problems that Blacks, Hispanics and others encounter.

Underrepresentation

Unknown Speaker: For Asian-Americans, some of the issues would be the same, others different. Underrepresentation is one issue. Psychological climate and how Asian-Americans are perceived is another. In a number of our programs, right now, funders will not support Asian-Americans in certain kinds of activities but will fund Blacks, Hispanics and American Indians because of their underrepresentation. For some foundations, underrepresentation is their overriding current issue.

Tom Reefe: One of the reasons for "overrepresentation" of Asian-Americans is that they're all lumped together. I deal with Koreans, Vietnamese, Laotians, Cambodians, Japanese, Chinese, Phillipinos, Malays. And of course there's a similar diversity among "Hispanics." We should be very careful about the demarkers we use.

Demographically, the issue of "Asian-American" enrollment will certainly bubble up in California; it's already started on the Berkeley campus. By the mid 1990's, California will have no majority population, and these issues are going to be very dicy.

Edgar Epps: Asian students have told me that they are underrepresented in the humanities and social sciences and in education; that they are ghettoized in mathematics and engineering and the sciences and that for them to be truly, equitably represented, they need to find ways to get access to the humanities, social sciences and education.

Human Resource Development

Unknown Speaker: What we're really about here is the protection and development of human resources, whatever the origin of them, and for that reason I think it's wrong to pick out a particular group and exclude them. We're for protecting and developing all human resources from all our communities. That's what we're about.

Myrna Adams: If we were to take that as a strategy, it would also get us out of the box of having to define each sub-group and each sub-sub-group for attention. But there may be a price to pay. Focussing on human resource devel-

opment can allow people to sidestep the critical questions of color and the impact of racism on educational opportunities.

Scholarly Ghettoes?

Tom Reefe: A related issue, which I'd like to see on a future conference agenda, is that of the ghettoization of people in graduate schools. The Valverde paper talked about different ethnic minorities tending to cluster in particular disciplines. It's a difficult issue, because people don't talk about it. But it's a reality that we may have to address some time.

I've learned at the University of California that one reason Asian Americans cluster in the natural sciences is that they view the natural sciences as culturally neutral. It isn't language; they emigrated from Asia: they can speak English. But there is nothing in the curriculum of the humanities and social sciences that speaks to Asian cultures in any sort of way.

John Turner: I only have one slight point to make and that is that minority scholars should be very careful about creating ghettoes for their products because if you develop these ghettoes you will find it very difficult to get respect within the academy.

Next Steps

From several speakers:

The most effective way to begin work on the conference issues back home is to introduce faculties (in senate or other general gatherings) to the demographic data on graduate education and the national population trends.

The most effective way to enlist faculty in the whole range of necessary activities, if we are to increase the numbers of African Americans, American Indians and Latinos who complete graduate degree programs, is to involve faculty members at the outset of local efforts in this direction.

If a continuing organization is established to pursue the aims of the conference, there is a role for it to play in supporting and enabling local, regional and national action to increase the numbers of African Americans, American Indians and Latinos who complete degree programs.

When we accept ambitious action agenda for our campuses, we must bear in mind the load that can, and probably will unless we are careful, fall on young minority faculty. We must be about talent development, even while we're about academic change. We must protect those young faculty who need to get their scholarly skills and reputations developed.

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Preface

An invitational conference on meeting the national need for African American, American Indian and Latino scholars was organized by the State University of New York at Stony Brook in November, 1987. For three days more than eighty participants—mainly faculty and administrators selected from Ph.D.-granting institutions and from important national organizations—assessed the critical role faculty play with regard to this issue.

In July of 1988, fifty participants were invited back to Long Island to spend another weekend deliberating two issues which were not sufficiently examined in the first session: (1) expanding the canons and boundaries of the scholarly disciplines to include non-European perspectives and (2) making effective use of incentives and rewards for faculty as a way to induce institutional change.

A Policy/Action Group was formed to draft and circulate a set of recommendations. After being reviewed and approved by the National Advisory Council, these recommendations are being widely distributed. Individuals in all parts of the country are asked to consider them and work for their adoption and incorporation into policy and practice at their institutions.

The planners and invitees to this conference were mainly African American, American Indian and Latino academics and administrators whose personal and professional experiences authenticate their statements. The proposals generated aim to transform institutions of higher learning, and reflect the understanding that successful participation by people from these groups is essential to the effectiveness of graduate education as a whole.

As one participant-observer wrote, "Good conferences, once underway, have a life of their own. Participants, caught up in the moment, frequently believe that they can accomplish almost anything. The truly exceptional conferences, moreover, are those that live beyond their moment, that engage conferees so thoroughly in the issues raised that they carry the meeting's message beyond, and in so doing, transform themselves and those around them. In the final hours of these two Stony Brook conferences, participants made it abundantly clear that they wanted to maintain the conference's momentum." To sustain the effort, two initiatives were identified: first, participants were encouraged to work at the "local level", i.e., within their own departments and institutions, to implement recommendations that emerged from the conference's working meetings, and second, to work at the national level, as one conferee put it, "to create a nationwide coalition that would make the conference's central issues part of the national educational agenda."

Expansion of opportunity at the graduate level is directly controlled by faculty, for it is they who admit graduate students, award assistantships and fellowships, mentor and advise, and ultimately determine who can be successful in scholarly careers. But these faculty prerogatives are not exercised in a vacuum, for there are other entities responsible for our system of higher education: college and university administrators and trustees provide leadership, direction and control of resources; professional associations and accrediting agencies establish standards; state and federal government set policy and provide the operating funds to meet state and national goals. Thus, to find solutions to the worsening problem of the underrepresentation of African American, American Indian and Latino scholars, the following recommendations are directed to each entity.

In recent months many articles and reports have appeared in the popular and professional media warning of the dire consequences which will befall higher education, our nation, and our way of life if we fail to develop the human talent and intellectual ability of all of our people, regardless of color, gender, or class. These reports and articles have focused mainly on the deplorable deficiencies of pre-college education—the level at which the general public, and particularly the business sector, see the most critical problems and potential for greatest impact. This pre-college focus is to be commended, not only for its attention to improvement in education for all children, but especially because a sustained and appropriate commitment to improving pre-college education can directly address many of the problems that limit the opportunity of minority children in their pursuit of higher education. Yet while we focus on pre-college needs, we must not be short-sighted and overlook the many urgent challenges facing graduate education—problems that demand prompt attention. As a nation if we hope to maintain our economic, social and political edge, we must support graduate education which generates new knowledge, produces skilled professionals, and provides the teaching faculty for colleges and universities.

Those involved with higher education, the Bush administration and the Congress, must commit themselves to addressing the following recomendations with all deliberate speed.

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23 January 1989

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Policies and Actions

It is not difficult to find agreement among a broad range of individuals and interested groups that the lack of minority scholars is of grave concern. What is currently missing is a set of clear statements to guide policy development on the issue, a reference source against which progress can be measured. Following is a series of broad policy recommendations applicable to the actors and institutions which must play a role in solving the problem: government at national and state levels, professional and disciplinary organizations, accrediting associations, institutions of higher education, and, most important of all, faculty themselves.

NATIONAL LEVEL

It is clear that in the area of the production of minority scholars and scholarship, the Federal Government has more impact than any other entity outside of the university itself.

Young people in this country will live most of their lives in the twenty-first century. The problems of that century for our country and the world—in areas as diverse as limiting environmental degradation, solving new challenges to health care and epidemiology systems, providing and distributing adequate housing and food, and providing and maintaining infrastructure for agriculture, industry, transportation and communication—require solutions more ingenious and complex than any of those posed to society heretofore. Only the complete utilization of all of our intellectual resources will do. This increasingly means making sure that advanced education is truly accessible to all those whom it can benefit and whose education can benefit all of us.

More and more, those who lead us, in every sector, need to have education beyond the baccalaureate. To maintain our country's economic position in an increasingly competitive world, to contribute to the solution of our own domestic problems, and because it is right, we must bring the best, at all the levels of education, to all of our citizens. And because the issue is national, part of the response must also be national. We feel the Federal government must participate in promoting a comprehensive, long-range agenda which incorporates at least the following measures to increase the number of minority scholars:

- developing the minority talent pool;
- financing graduate students;
- redefining and reshaping research policies and practices;
- strengthening the placement and employment of minority scholars;
- supporting the creation of institutes to incorporate plural scholarship into the academy; and
- creating and maintaining an accurate data base on students at all levels of education.

In framing the following recommendations, we understand that in the broadest sense the problem will only be solved when systemic changes occur in the nation's public schools, in business and industry, and in other aspects of American life. Our focus for purposes of this section, however, has to do primarily with changes in policies or practices at the Federal level or which Federal action can induce.

Federal Action to Develop the Minority Talent Pool

We know there are many persons in our country who have the potential to earn graduate degrees—including the Ph.D.—and who happen to be African Americans, American Indians or Latinos. The current system is ineffective and inefficient in identifying, recruiting, enrolling, retaining and graduating such people.

There are many ways to improve the access of African Americans, American Indians and Latinos who will go to graduate school directly after earning bachelor's degrees. We note, however, that there is an important additional potential pool of minority graduate students—returning students with undergraduate degrees who are already embarked on careers and/or have families to support. This group faces a series of extra barriers in the current system, such as lack of affordable, high quality day care for young children, family housing which is either too expensive or substandard, and policies governing the expected time to degree completion.

Recommendations

1) **Provide or increase grants and funding to institutions that demonstrate or develop programs of out-**

reach to and identification, retention, progress and graduation of minority students at the graduate and professional level. (e.g., Title IX A, *Grants to Institutions to Encourage Minority Participation in Graduate Education.*)

2) **Fund a national research center for the study of higher education, with a major focus on the examination of factors affecting minorities in higher education. This center should be mandated to collect, compile, synthesize and disseminate research.**
3) **Sustain and strengthen traditional ethnically-based institutions of higher education, such as tribally-controlled colleges, historically black institutions and comparable Latino institutions.** The existing Title III program under the Higher Education Act, appropriately modified, may be one such mechanism.
4) **Increase the opportunities for returning minority graduate students through financial support (e.g., family assistance for child-care and Federal housing subsidies, either for individuals or for the construction of campus housing for graduate students with families) and through grant policies (e.g., elimination of inappropriate time limits for work toward advanced degrees under Federal fellowships).**
5) **For efficiency and cost-effectiveness, require that all Federally-funded programs aimed at improving education for minority students demonstrate that they are operating under a coordinated system with common procedures.**
6) An over-reliance on standardized examinations for identification of talent is negatively affecting African Americans, American Indians and Latinos at the time they seek entrance to graduate education and when they exit the academy to move on to careers. **Federal leadership and support are needed for research on and development of alternative measures of identifying potential and ability.**
7) **Encourage and foster the creation of industry/government-sponsored activities and programs to identify and fund potential minority scholars. The field of engineering has demonstrated effective models in this regard over the last fifteen years.**
8) More than a decade has past since the National Board on Graduate Education produced a report with recommendations entitled *Minority Group Participation in Graduate Education.* **The Federal government should fund a comprehensive update of that report.**

Federal Action to Finance Graduate Students

Graduate education, unlike undergraduate education, does not have large, income-sensitive financial aid entitlement programs. Instead, financial aid for graduate students is largely funded through fellowships, research and instructional dollars, with other support coming from work study and loan programs.

Adequate financial support is crucial for the full participation and success of targeted minority students in graduate programs. And it should be remembered that such resource allocations are investments in human capital.

Assistantships are of particular importance to minority students, because "this form of aid seems to intensify student involvement in graduate study, promote professional development, and strengthen the bond between student and faculty mentor." (*Final Report of the Commission on the Higher Education of Minorities*, Higher Education Research Institute, Los Angeles: 1982, p 35.)

Recommendations

1) Educational loans at the undergraduate level, and the prospect of incurring even more debt at the graduate level, deter numbers of talented minorities from considering graduate school. **Federal financial aid policy, which in recent years has emphasized loans over grants, should be reversed. The entitlement programs now on the books should be financed at levels sufficient to fully fund all eligible students.**
2) **Where loans are part of a minority graduate student's financial aid package, there should be forgiveness provisions for those entering academic careers, to provide some counterbalance to competition from industry.**
3) **We endorse the recommendations included in the report of the Graduate Education Subcommittee of the National Commission on Student Financial Assistance (1983), particularly those on "Insuring Support for Talented Graduate Students" related to fellowships, research and training assistantships and Federal loan programs.** (See Appendix A.)
4) **We particularly support the creation of one-year awards for dissertation support of students in the arts, humanities and social sciences.** National Research Council data show that doctoral studies in these fields take longer than in science and engineering and that African American, American Indian and Latino students are more concentrated in these fields. Research assistantships are not available for their later years of graduate study.
5) **Federally funded fellowship programs should include summer research grants, assistantships, advanced research and training opportunities and early identification of potential recipients.** ("*Memorandum to the 41st President of the United States*," Commission on National Challenges in Higher Education, Washington, D.C.: 1988, p 9.)
6) **Funding should be increased for the Patricia Roberts Harris Fellowship Program (Title IX.B of the Higher Education Act) to make more fellowships available in addition to funding each recipient at the same level as the National Science Foundation Fellows.**

7) **There should be stronger language and sanctions mandating principal investigators on Federal grants to be accountable for providing research opportunities for underrepresented minority graduate students.**

Redefining and Reshaping Research Policies and Practices

In light of demographic realities, it is imperative that a national research agenda be developed which will be responsive to the interests and needs of minority communities, reflecting a national awareness of the importance of full development for all citizens.

We are concerned about who participates in defining the research agenda for the nation in the years ahead. This necessarily includes appointments to the policy-making positions in the National Endowment for the Humanities, National Institutes of Health and Mental Health and the National Science Foundation.

The national research agenda shapes both the approaches and the perspectives our country adopts in addressing its needs and forwarding its policies. The setting of a research agenda in one generation has impact a generation and more later. The space program and the campaign to eradicate polio each in its own way affected the social fabric of the entire country.

Given our continuing cultural, social and economic changes, it is both an ethical and a human resource concern that requires the research agenda to reflect the pluralism of our country.

Recommendations

1) **Federal agencies and departments must be charged, in their allocation of research resources, to enhance opportunities for socially responsible research regarding minority populations, communities and concerns.**
2) **Representation of African American, American Indian and Latino scholars should be mandated on all Federal and other national level review boards.**
3) **Regulatory language should make clear that African American, American Indian and Latino scholars and graduate students must have fair access to all Federally funded research opportunities. Bureaucratic obstacles which fail to recognize the circumstance of numbers of minority students, such as the 20-credit rule for NSF fellowships, should be changed. When institutions with concentrations of students from these targeted groups are not themselves judged competitive for certain projects, collaborative and consortial arrangements should be encouraged and funded.**

Federal Action in Placement and Employment

To make graduate education worthwhile for African Americans, American Indians and Latinos, we must open career pathways which use the skills and knowledge developed from that education. Too many advanced degree holders are currently underemployed or working outside their fields. This represents a tremendous waste.

Recommendations

1) **Institutions receiving Federal support for programs aimed at increasing educational opportunities for minorities (e.g. TRIO, HCOP, NIMH, NSF Fellows) should be held accountable for hiring, retaining, tenuring and promoting minority faculty.**
2) **Corporate recipients of Federal grants and contracts should mount partnership programs with graduate schools to enhance the development of minority scholars.**
3) **The effectiveness of graduate programs in placing their minority graduates, based on up-to-date placement records, should be a criterion in institutional competitions for Federal grants and contracts.**

Federal Action to Create Institutes for Cultural Pluralism

Demographic changes now taking place in the United States will profoundly alter intergroup relationships in the society as a whole and in certain regions in particular. For instance, the documented rise in racial and ethnic violence in America is one response to perceived changes in the socio-economic and political status of people of color—changes which diminish the power and influence of the historically white majority.

The changes will continue. In the interest of the whole society, we must prepare for them.

The history of the United States shows a continual struggle to assimilate ethnic/racial newcomers into the "mainstream" of American life. The emphasis on assimilation, which ignores or attempts to eliminate cultural differences, has diminished our appreciation of the value of cultural diversity and how it enriches our lives.

In America, violence has often accompanied social change. But it does not have to be that way.

Universities can play a major role in bringing about a better response to changes in society. They create, interpret and disseminate new knowledge that enables us to understand and accept change. The Federal government, in recognition of this unique role, should promote positive responses to the new demographic realities by funding Institutes for the Study of Cultural Pluralism.

Recommendations

1) **The Federal Government should support creation of institutes to foster cultural pluralism.** Federal grants would be used to establish Regional Centers to educate and inform the citizenry, to consult and be consulted on how to bring about desirable change in institutional and social life, with a view to giving diversity a positive, rather than a negative, value in American life. The very exis-

tence of such institutes will increase the production of scholarship on matters of interest and concern to members of ethnic minority groups, increasing the number of minority scholars in the process.

A model for the proposed institutes is in the recent recommendation by the National Science Board to boost minority participation in the science and technology work force by establishing Comprehensive Regional Centers for Minorities. The grant program is designed to encourage collaboration among colleges and universities, community groups, local and state governments. Initial funding for each of three centers is about $700,000, with the possibility of as much as $4 million over five years. Programs offered through the centers will be tuition free. ("NSF Notes," *MRS Bulletin*, December 1988, p. 23.)

Federal Action to Create and Maintain an Accurate Data Base

Without reliable and timely information about the status of minority scholars in training, it is impossible to monitor the effectiveness of current programs and policies or to hold institutions accountable for results. Since 1982 we have seen a degradation in the comprehensiveness, timeliness and availability of Federally-collected and held data on the status of minorities at all levels of education. Only with such information can we accurately identify where there are problems, suggest where resources might be well invested, and ultimately come to conclusions on how to achieve the same levels of quality and excellence in education for citizens of color that we want for all of our people. Finally, in this regard, without a better data base, all of the recommendations we put forth will lack the means of accountability to make them work.

Recommendations

1) **The Federal Government should create and maintain a consistent, national, comprehensive and annually-collected data base on all students that is easily accessible to the general public.**
2) Current categories of ethnic identification inhibit the careful analysis necessary to develop effective policies. **The Federal Government must commit resources to the development and maintenance of an ethnic identification system which reflects current demographic realities.**

THE STATE LEVEL

Most of the great public universities and systems of higher education in this country are organized at the state level. It is also at this level, in most states, where program offerings are evaluated and coordinated. Typically, the states finance broad programs of student financial aid, including some at the graduate level, and sponsor grants and institutional incentive programs to achieve certain social ends.

State higher education governing bodies can, through general statements of policy and through continued demonstration of commitment, provide strong leadership throughout all the public and independent higher education institutions of a state with respect to equity issues at the graduate level.

The process of selecting a career requiring graduate study starts early in the educational pipeline—perhaps in kindergarten or preschool. States, with their comprehensive responsibility for education at all levels, are in the best position to increase attainments of minority students at all these levels.

Recommendations

1) "A 1985 study conducted by the Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges (AGB) found that the vast majority of the nation's college and university trustees—approximately 90 percent—are white. Six percent are black, 3 percent are Asian or American Indian, and less than 1 percent are Hispanic." ("The Ivory Board Room," S. Ranbom, *Educational Record*, v.68, n.4/v.69, n.1) **Governors and state legislatures should appoint African Americans, American Indians and Latinos as trustees, presidents and commissioners of post-secondary institutions and as staff responsible for program review and approval. They should take care to ensure that all persons given such responsibilities exhibit a genuine and consistent commitment to educational equity.**
2) **State-level academic program reviews of public and independent institutions should incorporate criteria to measure how much these institutions contribute to increased educational opportunity and success—especially at the graduate level.**
3) **In the allocation of fiscal resources to post-secondary activities, states should**
   • make sure that funding formulas do not penalize unfairly those institutions working with high-risk and high-cost populations (e.g., mandated class sizes, staffing formulas);
   • provide or increase grants and funding to institutions that demonstrate or develop programs of outreach to and identification, retention, progress and graduation of minority students at the graduate and professional level;
   • insure that, where financial aid programs exist for graduate students, there is a mix of merit aid with aid based on financial need and targeted to underrepresented groups;
   • adequately support historically black or other predominately minority institutions, in recognition of their role in producing minority scholars, and encourage the growth of graduate-level programs when appropriate.

4) To increase the flow of successful African American, American Indian and Latino students into graduate school, it is necessary for these students to make the critical transitions at every stage, from preschool through baccalaureate study. **States should establish or enhance categorical bonus grants as incentives to institutions which make those successful transitions possible.**

PROFESSIONAL AND ACCREDITING ORGANIZATIONS

Among college faculty, the national discipline-based associations are a key force in forming and promulgating norms of acceptable behavior, disseminating information, and defining excellence.

These associations also publish journals which function significantly in the dissemination of new knowledge and in providing outlets for the publication necessary to advance faculty careers.

The regional accrediting associations are the most comprehensive means by which post-secondary institutions validate their legitimacy and are held accountable for their operations.

Recommendations

For Umbrella Organizations

1) **Those organizations which act as discipline-oriented umbrellas, such as the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council, should promulgate statements of principles about minority scholars and pluralistic scholarship to which they urge their member organizations to adhere.**

For Professional Associations

2) **Professional associations should make sure there is significant minority representation among referees for journal articles and on editorial boards.**
3) **The associations should set quantifiable goals for minority participation in their fields over time, recommend strategies for achieving such goals and set up ad hoc or standing committees to monitor and report regularly on these issues.**
4) **The associations should demonstrate their support for responsible pluralism in scholarship, through recognition of, tolerance of, and regard for emerging and new theoretical and methodological approaches and non-European cosmologies and epistemologies.**
5) Those minority scholars seeking knowledge on unconventional topics must have opportunities to create new research methods and concepts. They need a forum for this work. **Professional journals should provide for occasional critical essays presenting innovative research methodology, new theories and reexamination of the objectives of the discipline.**
6) **The associations should create paths for potential minority leaders in their disciplines through mentoring, internships, committee appointments, fellowship programs and the encouragement of presentations by minority scholars.**
7) **The agenda of professional meetings should make adequate room for pluralistic perspectives. These agenda should also include opportunities for papers and presentations by African American, American Indian and Latino graduate students. Outreach to corresponding minority discipline-oriented associations, through joint conferences and publications, should be increased.**

For Accrediting Organizations

8) **The regional voluntary accrediting agencies should revise their criteria as explicated in their operating manuals and guides to include measures of progress toward minority equity as part of the legitimization process.**
9) **Extraordinary efforts should be made to include African Americans, American Indians and Latinos as members of accreditation teams. The make-up of such teams should always, as a matter of policy, include persons committed to and sophisticated about issues of minority access and equity.**
10) **Accreditation review boards should incorporate into guidelines for self evaluation the efforts of universities to bring new perspectives into existing departmental structures or to create centers for the development of such new perspectives.**

INSTITUTIONS

It is the institutions of higher education which mediate between pressures from "outside" (government policies, professional organizations, community groups and the like) and from "inside" (faculty or students who propose or oppose change). Well-meaning faculty and well-conceptualized programs will founder if institutions do not provide a day-to-day framework of leadership, administration, accountability, and incentives appropriate to the task; for every American college, no matter how much it appears to be part of a larger system, is largely autonomous in its day-to-day operations.

No institution can be excellent without being truly plural,

but while commitment to excellence is everywhere stated in the explicit policies of institutions, similar statements of commitment to pluralism are absent. For the years ahead, the major challenge is for universities to dedicate themselves to social justice and then to translate the commitment into practice.

Recommendations

To create the environment for institutional changes essential to bringing more African Americans, American Indians and Latinos into scholarly training and careers, university administrators—presidents, deans, department chairs—must exercise responsibility for **conceptual leadership**, for an explicit **academic plan** with the goals of excellence and pluralism, for enhanced recognition of **mentoring**, and for the use of **incentive and reward systems** to reinforce desirable changes in faculty behavior.

Conceptual Leadership

Nowhere is conceptual leadership more important than in pursuit of educational equity. Such processes as affirmative action depend on conceptual clarity to undergird workable and effective systems, whether for recruitment, hiring, promotion or the allocation of resources.

We support the recommendations expressed in *The University of California in the Twenty-First Century: Successful Approaches to Faculty Diversity*, J.B. Justus, Project Director, 1987, pp 69-76. These recommendations, while specifically directed to faculty, department chairs, chief executives and their administrators at UC, are action-oriented and widely applicable.

Two of the recommendations aimed at chief executives are particularly appropriate strategies to increase the numbers of African American, American Indian and Latino scholars.

1) **"Whatever the management style, affirmative action must be measured by the ability of an administrator to translate commitment into action. All managers should be held responsible for their contributions to this institutional commitment. . ."** p. 74
2) **"To underscore the responsibility of department chairs to fulfill institutional commitments to affirmative action, [administrators] should institute appropriate communication and incentive structures (including orientation for new chairs, annual institution-wide goals, special funds and awards of positions as incentives)."** p. 75
3) **Programs of faculty and staff development must be designed, funded and implemented so as to ensure the fullest participation of all segments of the university community. The objective of such programs would be to inform, to educate and to develop normative institutional standards of conduct and practice devoid of overt and covert manifestations of racism and sexism.**

Academic Plan

4) **The faculty leadership group of the university, including the chief administrative officer, deans, chairs, graduate directors and key individuals in faculty governance must develop an academic plan which incorporates the issues of cultural pluralism into the overall mission and operation of the institution.**

Incentives and Rewards

5) **Institutions and their leaders should use the whole panoply of traditional incentives and rewards for faculty in order to improve and increase university effectiveness in increasing successful participation of targeted minority groups in the scholarly pursuits.**
   - **Criteria for tenure and promotion should include positive weight for faculty who work effectively with students and beginning faculty from targeted ethnic and racial minorities.**
   - **Recognizing how valuable time is to faculty members, institutions should provide resources — research assistantships, secretaries, equipment, as appropriate — to acknowledge and make time available to faculty for these activities, and should make clear that the resources are provided for these supportive purposes.**
   - **Other possible incentives for faculty include:**
     - **fellowships and grants as recognition for outstanding work with targeted minority students,**
     - **leave time for faculty to develop curricula, work on minority recruitment and mentor minority students,**
     - **salary increments tied to success in nurturing targeted minority students,**
     - **individual awards in the form of peer recognition, e.g., "Mentor of the Year Award."**
6) **Institutions can develop opportunities to nurture and develop African American, American Indian and Latino faculty by providing**
   - **professional development leave time**
   - **postdoctoral fellowships**
   - **hiring set-asides specifically for target groups**
   - **faculty exchange opportunities**
   - **visiting professorships**
   - **research funds**
   - **conference funding**

THE FACULTY

Whatever policies, strategies, or actions might be suggested or recommended by any group, in the end, the faculty, more than any other individuals, necessarily have and will continue to have primary responsibility for increasing minority scholars and scholarship. It is the faculty who recruit graduate students, who are responsible for the awarding of assistantships and fellowships, and who must provide extended mentoring and guidance if students are to be successful in attaining advanced degrees. It is the faculty who are responsible for providing an academic environment which will enhance the success of these students. It is also faculty who preside over the growth and development of their disciplines.

At the graduate level, more than anywhere else in American education, faculty determine who will succeed.

Collegial behavior—acting as members of departmental and disciplinary groups—is typical of faculty in all fields. But it is individual faculty members who have the greatest impact on graduate students as they proceed toward advanced degrees. Many of the recommendations that follow are calls to action and responsibility by individual members of the faculty. We recognize that pressures to conform may sometimes make individual action difficult, especially for junior faculty. **We call on senior faculty to take the lead in accepting and carrying out these recommendations.**

Recommendations

Changes in faculty roles and behavior must occur in three areas: **outreach and admissions**, to expand the number of people in the target groups who are qualified for successful graduate study; **mentoring**, to enable more members of target groups to find the carcer-oriented faculty support they need; and **defining scholarship**, to increase the responsiveness of scholars in the disciplines to a plural society.

Outreach and Admisstons

1) **Faculty need to review critically those criteria and procedures for admission which for underrepresented groups do not effectively identify students with scholarly potential, and then to propose and implement alternatives.**
2) **Faculty and teachers should attempt to identify talented young people early in their schooling, and encourage them to consider and prepare for academic careers.**
3) **To increase the quality and quantity of undergraduate applicants, faculty should develop and expand "bridge programs;" for example, programs designed to create links between the senior high school and freshman year, the senior undergraduate and first year of graduate school, and programs which engage undergraduates in quality research projects.**
4) **Faculty should become more directly and actively involved in recruitment, especially in predominantly minority institutions and among groups traditionally underrepresented at the graduate level.**
5) **Networks should be built or strengthened to expand the information base of minority students about schools receptive to them, through visiting scholar and faculty-student exchange programs, institutional partnership arrangements, and minority alumni associations.**
6) **The extent of outreach should be creatively expanded to underutilized minority talent pools in traditional "terminal" master's programs, to working professionals, and to ABDs and other returning scholars.**

Mentoring and Advising

7) **To increase the effectiveness of faculty mentors, attention should be paid to the professional development of faculty in such roles; e.g., through periodic workshops and through systematic training in cultural knowledge and sensitivity to ethnic and racial groups.**
8) **All faculty, especially those in senior and emeritus roles, should be involved in mentoring; especially effective mentors should be tangibly rewarded.**
9) **Faculty advisers should be held accountable for fair, equitable and effective performance.**
10) **Graduate students themselves should play an active role in mentoring, through assisting in the orientation of new graduate students and through critiquing the ongoing mentoring process.**

Defining Scholarsbip

The twin issues of increasing the number of minority scholars and defining the scope and nature of scholarship to be more responsive to a heterogeneous society are inextricably entwined. The pursuit of a scholarly life, which has its penalties as well as its rewards, will be more attractive to those groups we wish to recruit if the canons which define the limits of acceptable intellectual exploration are broadened to include the values and concerns which are central to people of color.

11) **Faculty in all disciplines can advance the practice of openness toward new perspectives by themselves becoming sensitive to points of view different from their own, whether in matters of content, method, focus, form or any other taken-for-granted standard.** Willingness, on the part of faculty, to remain open to alternative perspectives enhances the possibility of scholarly renewal and development within the disciplines.
12) **Faculty in all disciplines need to recognize the limitations that may exist in their departments, as well as in their disciplinary fields, for dealing with new elements in those fields. Where such limitations exist, faculty have a responsibility to seek appropriate remedies, whether within or outside their departments, institutions or disciplinary associations.**

13) **Faculty should, with administrators, periodically study ways to bring new perspectives into existing departmental structures or create centers for their development.** This is particularly important for fields that have excluded minority views because they are not recognized as part of the discipline's canon.

14) **Professional associations and academic units that house scholarly journals should require that their composition of review boards, editors, and readers be inclusive of people of color..**

15) **Universities and professional associations should encourage, develop, and financially support opportunities for faculty to seek additional training in order to enhance their understanding of and competence with the scholarly contributions and concerns of people of color.**

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APPENDIX A
National Commission on Student Financial Assistance

The National Commission on Student Financial Assistance was created by Public Law 96-374, The Education Amendments of 1980. Deliberating on those amendments, Congress realized there was a general lack of reliable information and well-informed policy recommendations on many fundamental issues of federal student assistance in postsecondary education. The National Commission was established to respond to this situation and to provide policy recommendations to Congress and the President.

Established in 1981, the National Commission is a bipartisan panel of members of Congress, leaders of the higher education community, and representatives of the public. The Commission is composed of twelve members, four appointed by the President of the United States, four by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and four by the President Pro Tempore of the Senate:

Appointed by the President

David R. Jones, Chairman; member of the faculty, Vanderbilt University
Richard E. Kavanagh, Senior Vice President, Shearson/American Express Inc., Chicago, Illinois
Marilyn D. Liddicoat, Attorney-at-Law, Santa Cruz County, California
Kenneth R. Reeher, Executive Director, Pennsylvania Higher Education Assistance Agency

Appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives

John Brademas, President, New York University, former Member of the House of Representatives
Hon. John N. Erlenborn, Representative from Illinois*
Hon. William D. Ford, Representative from Michigan
Kenneth G. Ryder, President, Northeastern University

Appointed by the President Pro Tem of the Senate

David P. Gardner, President, University of California System
David M. Irwin, Executive Vice President, Washington Friends of Higher Education, Seattle, Washington
Hon. Claiborne Pell, Senator from Rhode Island
Hon. Robert T. Stafford, Senator from Vermont

*Replaced Hon. Wendell Bailey on February 24, 1983.

GOALS FOR GRADUATE EDUCATION: AN AGENDA FOR FEDERAL ACTION

The economic vitality, the security, and the quality of American life depend directly on the capacity of our colleges and universities to produce new knowledge as well as future generations of scholars. We jeopardize these dimensions of our national life if we reject the imperative to exert national leadership in graduate education.

Support of graduate education is not the sole responsibility of any one sector of our society. The federal government, state governments, foundations, and business and industry all have an interest in ensuring the vitality of graduate education. Given the charge to the Commission, however, this report focuses on the responsibilities of the federal government to the enterprise.

Federal support is indispensable to excellence in graduate education. Such support, moreover, should represent a "balanced portfolio" of funds for both research and student assistance and should be maintained on a stable basis over time.

An Agenda for Federal Action

Testimony before the Commission, research supported by the Commission, its own deliberations, and the work of the staff have convinced the Commission that, in order to meet national needs effectively and to ensure the quality of American graduate education, action by the federal government is essential.

The Commission outlines the following ten goals as an agenda for federal action for graduate education.

These goals are designed to

1) Ensure support for talented graduate students
2) Increase the numbers of talented women in graduate education
3) Increase the numbers of talented minority students in graduate education
4) Maintain and enhance the nation's strengths in graduate research
5) Ensure that graduate laboratories, equipment, and instrumentation are of high quality
6) Enhance the quality of scholarly libraries and ensure that valuable collections are maintained
7) Attract and retain promising young scholars as faculty members
8) Meet pressing national needs for highly trained experts
9) Evaluate the impact of the federal government's decisions on the nation's needs for graduate-educated men and women
10) Improve both the quantity and the quality of information about graduate education

The following recommendations to accomplish these goals are, to reiterate, directed largely to the federal government. The Commission also urges action, as appropriate, on the part of state governments, foundations, and business and industry.

A survey of existing federal programs and authorities indicates that much of this agenda can be accomplished without major new legislation. What is required, rather, is adequate support of existing programs. In the following sections, the Commission presents specific steps to accomplish the goals on this agenda and identifies existing federal programs to attain them. In those instances in which legislative authorities are lacking, new programs are described.

Recommendations

1. Ensure Support for Talented Graduate Students

Financial assistance to graduate students is as important as support for research. The costs of pursuing graduate education are high and rising. Unless adequate student aid is available, the nation will not be able to attract the talented young people it needs into graduate education.

The federal government provides financial assistance to graduate students in a variety of ways. Through *fellowships*, a direct grant is made to the student as well as a payment to the institution to help cover tuition and other costs. Several federal agencies sponsor fellowships, most of them in the physical and health sciences and engineering. The National Science Foundation, for example, annually supports about 1,390 students in science and engineering. The National Institutes of Health support approximately 10,000 graduate students and postdoctoral fellows in biomedical and behavioral sciences and in clinical research. Although several federal statutes authorize fellowship support for students in the arts, humanities, and social sciences, few fellowships in these fields are presently funded.

The *research assistantship* is another form of support. Some portion of most research grants to universities assists graduate students in this way. Research assistantships are especially important because they provide both income to the student and research experience in the student's field of specialization. The number of students supported through this mechanism is difficult to determine. In 1981, an estimated 27,000 students worked as research assistants in federally supported research and development projects. National Science Foundation research projects currently support about 9,600 students each year.

A third mechanism of support is the *teaching assistantship*. In 1981, an estimated 10,000 graduate students were employed as teachers of undergraduate classes, laboratory instructors, or tutors. Funds are derived almost solely from the instructional budgets of the colleges and universities themselves.

Three major *federal student aid programs* also assist students in meeting the costs of graduate study. These include the College Work Study program (CWS) and two loan programs, the Guaranteed Student Loan program (GSL) and the National Direct Student Loan program (NDSL).

If we are to maintain a strong system of graduate education, it is imperative that these sources of support be sustained. *In order to assure that sufficient numbers of talented young people enter graduate study in all disciplines, the Commission recommends that majorfederal programs of support for graduate students should be maintained and, in some instances, substantially increased.*

The Commission makes the following recommendations concerning fellowships:

- The number of science and engineering fellowships in various agencies should be substantially increased, and stipends should be regularly raised to take into account the cost of living. Appropriate consideration should be given to areas within these fields experiencing shortages of doctoral-trained personnel.
- Support for biomedical and behavioral scientists should be maintained at least at present levels.
- For the support of graduate students in the arts, humanities, and social sciences, a total of approximately 750 additional fellowships per year should be provided under the National Graduate Fellowship Program and other appropriate authorities.
- In addition, 500 new one-year awards should be authorized annually for dissertation support of students in the arts, humanities, and social sciences.

Discussion

Inflation takes its toll on graduate students as well as everyone else. The Commission, therefore, recommends that adjustments in stipend levels be made regularly. Failure to do so increases the likelihood that students either will not enter graduate study or, given the attraction of starting salaries in the private sector, will drop out before completion of their studies.

Fellowship awards to students are ordinarily limited to three

years. Students in the sciences and engineering are often able to support themselves in subsequent years with *research assistantships*. Such assistantships are far less available in the arts, humanities, and social sciences. In order to provide modest support to students in these fields during the later years of graduate study, the Commission recommends a new program of dissertation fellowships. These would provide support and an incentive to finish the dissertation as rapidly as possible.

The Commission makes the following recommendations concerning research and training assistantships:

- Increased federal support for research should be accompanied by an increase in the number of research assistants in all fields.
- The College Work Study program should be substantially increased, with a sizable portion of additional funds directed to graduate students. Such funds should be used by institutions to support students engaged in research or teaching in their academic fields.

Discussion

The College Work Study program (CWS) provides part-time employment to needy students, including graduate students. Under CWS, which is administered by the college or university, 80 percent of the student's salary is paid by the federal government, the remainder by the institution. Only 10 percent of the 983,000 students assisted by this program are graduate students. The Commission recommends that increases in this program be used to provide jobs for graduate students that are related, if possible, to their academic work.

The Commission makes the following recommendations concerning federal loan programs:

- Graduate students should continue to be eligible for participation in the GSL and NDSL loan programs. Furthermore, the level of interest subsidized for graduate borrowers should remain the same as for undergraduates— as under current law.
- Limits should be increased on the total amounts that students, particularly professional students, may borrow.
- Graduate students should become eligible to participate in federal student assistance programs immediately upon entering graduate school.

Discussion

Guaranteed Student Loans are made by private lenders and subsidized and guaranteed by the federal government. Five thousand dollars may be borrowed each year, up to a total debt of no more than $25,000. Students make no payments for interest or principal while in school. After students graduate, the interest rate is fixed, presently at 8 percent. A Commission survey of state guaranty agencies indicates that through this program about 410,000 graduate and professional students borrowed $1.6 billion in fiscal year 1982.

The NDSL program provides low-interest loans to needy students. Loans are made by colleges and universities using funds provided by both the federal government (80 percent) and the institution (20 percent). Total borrowing (undergraduate and graduate) is limited to $12,000 per student. In 1983, about 826,000 loans will be made. The portion of these made to graduate students, however, is unknown.

The total amount that students may borrow should keep pace with costs, especially for students in the health sciences. If there is not some modification of loan limits, students will find themselves unable to continue their graduate work. The Commission shares the concern of many that loan burdens of students may become unmanageable. However, analyses completed for the Commission suggest that loan burdens for the vast majority of graduates are not excessive. The Commission, therefore, recommends raising on a regular basis total loan ceilings for individual borrowers under GSL and NDSL.

To be eligible for subsidies in both programs, students must have been independent of their parents for at least a full year before applying for aid. Many students remain dependent on their parents while undergraduates, but for all practical purposes become independent once they enter graduate or professional school. Under current policies, such students are ineligible for consideration as independent students to receive federal support based on need during their first year of graduate study. The Commission believes that, provided they are not claimed as dependents on their parents' income tax returns, these students should be considered independent immediately upon entering graduate school.

Appendix B

The University of California in the Twenty-First Century: Successful Approaches to Faculty Diversity

Joyce Bennett Justus, Project Director
Sandria B. Freitag, L. Leann Parker
Spring 1987

Part Four: Conclusions

As should be clear from the preceding text, our literature search and nation-wide interviews have underscored two important aspects of affirmative action efforts. On the one hand, perceptions matter. Whether substantiated by practice or not, how minorities and women respond to their academic environment is conditioned, to a large extent, by what they perceive to be the institution's attitude and willingness to support them. Thus it will be important that the extraordinary efforts mounted by the University of California in the next two decades include important symbolic acts, designed to convey the message that the University and its constituent units have made a commitment to achieving a diversified faculty.

On the other hand, we feel that affirmative action, generally speaking, may have suffered from an undue emphasis on symbols. For that reason, most of the recommendations listed below concentrate on that important transition from institutional commitment to action. Only through extraordinary actions will the University accomplish its goal for the twenty-first century.

Summary of Recommendations

We recommend to the faculty, particularly to departments, that:

1) Creative searches for quality cannot be invoked only when recruiting. They must inform the teaching done by departments for students at various levels, the interaction with postdoctoral fellows and visiting scholars, the searches for new faculty, and the dealings with tenure-track junior faculty.
2) Expressed differently, faculty must always be conscious of the fact that actions they take in relation to undergraduates, graduates, junior and senior faculty colleagues, all affect the "pipeline" and its ability to attract, prepare and promote minority and women along an academic career trajectory.
3) Departments and individual faculty members should design summer and other programs that enable undergraduate students, including those recruited from other institutions (such as HBCUs and state university campuses with substantial populations of minority students), to participate in faculty research projects. Successful models in the sciences should be adapted to the social sciences and humanities, as well.
4) An important way to build quality into the graduate training of minority and women students interested in researching their own communities, is for social science and humanities departments to ensure that subjects especially relevant to minorities and women be integrated more fully with the methodologies of each discipline.
5) Research and teaching assistantships, in particular, need to be viewed by faculty as experiences designed to "groom" women and minority graduate students to achieve excellence. To accomplish this goal:
   - The timing of awards of these sources of financial assistance should be deliberately structured to provide maximum training.
   - Thus research assistantships (RAships) should be provided for the first two years; teacher assistantships (TAships) should be awarded after these two years, when a student has amassed enough information to perform well.
   - Both RAships and TAships should include close interaction with a faculty sponsor.
   - In addition, faculty should see their support of the final years of graduate work as similarly crucial. They need to assist graduate students to find fellowships to support the research and write-up phases of the doctoral process. [As is now the case with white male students, they should see their ability to facilitate minority and women students' successes in gaining financial support to be a measure of their own effectiveness in their fields.]
6) Senior faculty members, particularly white males, need to work very consciously on involving minority and women junior faculty members in their departments in near-peer mentor and higher-ranking sponsor relationships. While our observations suggest that formal mentorship programs are often unsuccessful, the goals of such programs could be accomplished informally if senior faculty conscientiously took on these responsibilities voluntarily.
7) Particularly senior faculty members, but all members of the University of California faculty, must consciously work

to expand their conceptualization of the larger community of scholars of which they are members. Specifically, they should:

•build institutional ties between particular departments, or even subfields within particular disciplines, and faculty involved in those fields who teach at HBCUs and Hispanic equivalents.

•consciously work to include minority and women graduate students and faculty (at other institutions as well as UC campuses) in the variety of collaborative enterprises fostered by academia — including conferences, essay collections, professional meetings, and large-scale research projects.

•consciously seek out minority and women scholars with whom to exchange research conclusions and drafts prepared for publication.

•as well-informed members of a profession that relies heavily on research fellowships, work to ensure that minority and women candidates become fully informed, assisting where possible to make them competitive applicants for grant support.

8) Departments with insufficient numbers of minority and women faculty members need to work consciously to redress the lack of role models they provide graduate students.

•Perhaps the most effective short-term solution to this problem is to initiate scholars' exchange programs, in order to bring to campus visiting minority and women faculty, particularly those from HBCUs and Hispanic equivalents. These visits could range from two weeks to a semester or longer.

We recommend to department chairs:

9) Innovative recruiting measures, to ensure the broadest and most diverse pool of candidates possible, should include the following:

•more broadly defined specialties listed in job descriptions, perhaps encouraging the option of a specialization in minority and women-focused subject matter within the broader topic area;

•recruitment outside the standard locales (of equivalent research universities), including HBCUs and Hispanic equivalents

•where applicable, applying professional school-style searches for practitioners who have achieved excellence outside academe

•looking for active researchers who earned PhDs but now support themselves in jobs outside the academy

•providing fuller consideration for those currently occupying ancillary positions in the University, including part-time, temporary, or non-tenure track slots.

10) Departments can foster the aspects of excellence that encourage productive faculty in several ways. Among the more important, is providing security through clear expressions of departmental and campus expectations for the level and quality of work needed for promotion and tenure, as well as regular and reliable indicators about how each individual is progressing towards these measures. (These ought, in fact, to begin during the interview process.) Where possible, discussion with junior faculty of "successful files" seems especially effective.

11) To encourage maximum productivity before junior faculty are reviewed for tenure, department chairs should ensure judicious and timely use of release time, reduced teaching loads, and assistance/support in preparing fellowship applications.

•For maximum effectiveness, we recommend that use of these forms of departmental support be combined with reviews of junior faculty progress, to ensure the clarity of the department's evaluation message, and to convey the department's active support of the growth and professional progress of the faculty member. [p.33]

12) More difficult is the department's ability to control "quality of life" issues, but these often adversely affect the faculty member's ability to be a productive participant of the department. Department chairs need to pay careful attention to the range of issues inherent in living in the campus community, including housing, schooling, maternity leave and other related issues. Assisting the faculty member in finding solutions to these kinds of problems not only reduces the frustrations and distractions of academic life, but further conveys departmental support.

We recommend to UC chief executives and their administrators:

13) The University should take a national lead in identifying and collecting the data that is necessary to track the training and careers of potential minority faculty.

14) Rather than attempting piece-meal solutions, the University must conceptualize its approach as an integrated series of interventions all along the pipeline. Its strategy must encompass a series of programs that build logically.

•From early outreach programs to efforts to retain full professors, campus and systemwide administrators must see their efforts at each point as building on, and dependent on the success of, previous efforts.

•In particular, the connections need to be emphasized between points of intervention within departmental purview, and those affected by administrative intervention. This emphasis is a management responsibility.

15) Whatever the management style, affirmative action must be measured by the ability of an administrator to translate commitment into action.

•All managers should be held responsible for their contributions to this institutional commitment; measurements of their rates of successes should be included in every review of their work.

16) Chief executives (and their top managers) who practice a "leader" style of management, should invest much of their

personal reputation and discretionary resources in developing new programs.

- Each program should target a particular subgroup, and will probably focus on providing support — financial, social, psychological or academic.
- In this context, we reiterate our concern that the programs be conceptualized as points along the supply pipeline.

17) Chief executives (and their top managers) who practice the administrative style we have characterized as "managers," should define what constitutes success.

- They should establish standards against which success should be measured, and offer rewards for achieving affirmative action goals.
- Through an emphasis on "accountability," senior managers should understand that they should be held responsible for achieving institutional goals.

18) Chief executives should analyze the management styles of their institutions, making sure that:

- They are getting the maximum results from the strategies most amenable to their management style.
- They have, within their administrative ranks, enough administrators with the complementary style to achieve maximum results.

19) To underscore the responsibility of department chairs to fulfill institutional commitments to affirmative action, managers should institute appropriate communication and incentive structures.

- Orientation sessions for new chairs should include a module on affirmative action, including training on how to conduct searches; how to identify underrepresented candidates through nontraditional strategies; how to expand interviewing techniques and review procedures to enhance successes, etc.
- Campuses should set a specific, institutionwide goal each year, delineating the role to be played in each department and unit in the community in filling the goal. This "encourages all members of the institution to strive to achieve the goal, provides a specific way to measure success, and allows a campus "to celebrate together" the annual achievements.
- Administrators should enlist departments by providing special funds for those that introduce innovative new ways to enhance their affirmative profiles.
- Awards of positions (FTEs) should be considered, for departments who identify outstanding minority or women faculty even when they do not fit a specialty. This strategy has proven the most effective incentive for affirmative action hiring.

20) Many campuses will be able to send a special message of commitment to affirmative action by repositioning their affirmative action officer.

- This repositioning may include a direct reporting line to the chief executive, enabling the affirmative action officer to deal informally with potential problems.

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